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1

BATTERY WAGNER ON MORRIS ISLAND¹ 1863

14 By JOHN HARLESTON

23 John Harleston (October 25, 1831-February 7, 1919), son of Edward
51 and Anna Isabella (Huger) Harleston, was born in Anderson District, where
57 the Harleston family spent the summers. He attended Pendleton Academy
59 until fourteen years of age, and when the Mexican War began, he was anxious
to go to the front. His father, however, took him from Pendleton Academy
and brought him to a school in Charleston taught by Samuel A. Burns, on
Meeting Street near the corner of George. For three years he remained at
this school, and then studied Latin and Greek under Professor Springs, a well-
known teacher of the day, who taught in what was known as the old Pickett
Guard House on Marion Square.

1 As John Harleston found plantation life on the Cooper River too tame,
14 he resolved to go West. Leaving Charleston by rail for New Orleans, he there
23 took a boat to Galveston, whence he traveled by stage to Goliad, and thence
on horseback to San Antonio.

28 Upon learning that South Carolina had seceded, John Harleston imme-
51 diately returned to Charleston, where he enlisted and was made a first lieuten-
57 ant in the Vigilant Rifles, under Captain Samuel Y. Tupper. He was stationed
59 first at Morris Island, where his tour of duty was in marked contrast to the
later duty of which he writes below. He served courageously throughout the
war, being wounded three times and captured twice. His brother, Frances
Huger Harleston, was killed at Fort Sumter.

54 After the war, John Harleston worked first at steamboating, and later
in the railroad business. Prominent as a Mason, he was elected to every office
57 in Landmark Lodge.² His recollections of Battery Wagner were written in
September 1902, and are printed here unchanged that punctuation has been
somewhat standardized for the sake of readability.

BATTERY WAGNER

Sepbt 1902

I have been often asked, "What was the tightest place you were
in during the Civil War?" I always answered, "Battery Wagner on Mor-
ris Island, and I have been in many tight places: as a prisoner on U. S.
vessels, in the Tombs prison in New York, in Fort Lafayette, in Fort

¹ For a general view of the Union campaign against Morris Island, see J. E. Florance, Jr., "Morris Island: Victory or Blunder?", this *Magazine*, LV (1954), 143.

² Information on John Harleston was supplied from family records by Mrs. E. Roy Daniell of Charleston, his grandniece.

Delaware, and in the Bull Pens of Logan's Corps, in North Carolina, and the Bombardment and defence of Fort Sumter, and in numerous other places, but of *all*, the last six days before Battery Wagner was evacuated, was the worst."

I was then a private in the Charleston Light Dragoons, afterwards Co. H, 4th S. C. Cavalry. This company was ordered to Charleston from the coast, where it had been on duty for a year or more, helping to guard the Charleston and Savannah R.R. at Yemassee, Pocotaligo, Coosawhatchie, and [all] that country, and arrived at that city, marching by Rantowles in August, 1863, and camped on the Washington Race Course. On August 20th, an order was received from Head Quarters, ordering a squad of one Sergeant, and six privates to proceed to Morris Island, and relieve the squad doing Courier duty there, and 2d Sergt B. F. Huger, and six men were detailed, went to Morris Island that night, and relieved Sergt Hyer and squad, from the 5th S. C. Cavalry.

In the *Year Book of [City of Charleston] 1884*, issued by Mayor Courtenay, and written by R.C. Gilchrist, is a piece called the "Confederate Defence of Morris Island," and in giving an account of the Cavalry, doing duty there, and their duty as Couriers, he says it was done by a Detail of a Lieut. and ten men from Cap. Zimmerman Davis' company, The South Carolina Rangers, and who remained until the evacuation. This is certainly an error. I know that Sergt. Huger and squad relieved Lt or Sergt Hyer on Aug 20th, and that the second squad of Dragoons, of which I was one, relieved Sergt Huger and squad, on the evening of Aug. 31st. Cap Gilchrist was not present at the last days of Battery Wagner, hence this error. I can only remember the names of two of Sergt. Huger's squad, they were A. Burgess Gordon, and Josiah Bedon. I have tried to remember the others, but can't, the three above men are all dead. On the morning of the 31 [st.] Aug. another squad was ordered to relieve the one on Morris Island from the Dragoons. This duty being considered especially dangerous, the men were selected by lot, the 2d Squad were Sergt. E. C. Holland, Privates Charles E. Prioleau, A. R. Elmore, J. B. Moore, W. H. Fairley, A. R. Taylor, and the sixth man's name, I can't remember, though I thought I never could forget them.

J. B. Moore was a married man, with wife and children, (the only married man of the squad), he was much distressed, and I, getting permission from Cap. Colcock, offered to take his place, and did so. This was how I got on the squad. Had I of known, what was ahead,

I don't know if I should have made the offer, but as I got back in safety, I am glad I did.

On the evening of Aug 31st, about 9 o'clock, the Squad under Sergt. Holland, reported on Southern wharf with Blankets and Revolvers, nothing else, were put in a row Boat with provisions etc. for Morris Island, where we arrived shortly after, and landed on the beach along side of Battery Gregg. As I jumped ashore, the first person I met was Burgess Gordon, of Huger's men. He exclaimed, "Good God Harleston are you here?" I said, "Yes I am here," and told him about taking Moore's place, and he said, "Well old fellow our Boat's ready, and I thank God I am getting away from this place. I tell you it is hell, hell." The next moment he was aboard and off.

Now the rest of this, I know and saw, and although after 40 years, I have forgotten much, I think what I write is nearly correct.

After we landed, we went to Couriers' Head Quarters, which was a small low Bombpr[oof] some 100 yards east of Battery Gregg. It faced the City, and was barely large enough to hold our party.

We had scarcely got there, when there was a call for a Courier. One was wanted to carry the dispatches to Wagner, that came from Charleston with us. I don't remember how it happened, but I was detailed to carry them. Now I knew nothing about the rout or way of getting to Wagner, but one of the men garrisoning Gregg, told me to take a Horse from the stable (or pen it was) which was in a corner of the earth works between Courier quarters and Battery Gregg, lead him down to the Beach, Keeping close to the Breast works, until I struck the water, then mount, turn his head up the beach, and let him go. All I had to do was to stick on, and the Horse would do the rest, and advised me to ride a little flea bitten Grey, whose tail had been cut off by a shell, all but six or 8 inches, and was still raw and bloody.

I followed his advice, and when I got to the end of the curtin wall, and near the beach, I jumped on his back, gave him his head, the little Grey was off like the wind. Straight up the Beach we went, until I could see Battery Wagner looming up in the darkness. The Grey made a swerve to the right, and in a minute stopped short under the walls of Wagner to the right of the Sallyport, before an old Gun carriage that he was accustomed to be hitched to. The stop was so short and unexpected, that I shot forward to his ears and came within an ace of going over, but recovered myself and got back into the saddle, which I was very glad of, for the Sallyport was crowded with soldiers, who would have run me to death if I had been thrown. They yelled and

cheered and wanted the news, for they knew I was a new arrival, and were looking out for the first comers. This was my first acquaintance with Battery Wagner.

I remained there the balance of the night and came back to Gregg in early morning. We found five Horses at Gregg, left by the squad from the 5th Cavalry. All, if I remember right, had been hit by minnie balls or shells, and were about half the number originally carried down. Of all these five horses, the little Grey was the best. He was never scared by shot or shell I have seen them bursting all around him until [he was] nearly hidden by the smoke; have seen a 15-inch shell from a Monitor strike the beach, making a hole you could put a cart in, ten or a doz[en] yards in front of him, yet he never slackened his pace, but swerved to the right or left to avoid the pits and ditches made by the shells.

Sergt Huger made a list of his men, including himself, each man, taking his turn to ride as his name came, so all knew when a call came, who was to go. Our Serg[ean]t made out a similar list, but left his own name off, as he had a right to do, being in charge. He never rode, and never saw the inside of Wagner.

Our custom was [that] the man at Wagner remained there day or night, until another came up from Gregg. Then the one who had been there left for Gregg, and the last comer remained at Wagner until relieved in the same way. If dispatches were important, two couriers were sent within ten minutes of each other, so if one got killed, the other might get through. The distance between Battery Gregg and Wagner was three quarters of a mile, and the ride was straight up the beach until you got about 100 yards from Wagner, then you turned to the right and made for the Sallyport. This ride was *always* under fire, very heavy at times, from Monitors and the Ironsides along the beach, and from Land Batteries throwing shells of 100, 200 and 300 pounds, and from the bullets of the Sharpshooters, under whose range you came when a quarter of a mile from the Battery, and the last three or four days before it was evacuated, it was fearful. Three Monitors and the Ironsides anchored off the Beach, close in and spread out along it, never ceased firing. Day and night, it was kept up in same way.

I have been in Sumter, and other places, but nothing like this was. I don't think any of us expected to get through, and [we] often bid each other good by when we started. I remember going down with Prioleau to the starting point, and watching him ride for Wagner. I did not see how he could get through. It was the day before the Island

was abandoned. Three Monitors and the Ironsides were lined along the beach, between Gregg and Wagner, and were hurling shells in every direction. You could see the big 15-inch shells as they left the guns on the Monitors, come swaying along, striking the beach and exploding, throwing up a cloud of sand 20 or 30 feet high, and making a hole where they struck, big enough to put a horse and cart in. Sometimes they went over into the marsh, sending clouds of mud and grass in every way. But we feared the shells from the Ironsides more than all. She would let off a broadside at a time (8 Guns) and her shells you never could tell anything about, until they struck, and if in their range, nothing could save you. The Couriers were in plain view of these vessels when riding in day time, and we used to swear they fired at us. And when you got near Wagner, it was worse, for here you not only run among all the big shells fired at the Fort from the Ships and Land batteries and the little perpendicularly dropping Coe-horn Mortor shells, but you had to run the chance from the minies of the sharp shooters, really the worst of all.

Yet through all this, only two men were hurt from Sergt Huger's squad and sent to Hospital, and two from ours (Fairley and Taylor) who were sent to James Island. The wounding of these men left a smaller number to do the work, and it was seldom you were idle, day or night, and for Forty-two consecutive hours this iron hail was falling, and at times the earth trembled like an earthquake. The last days on Morris Island were of simple endurance, and I can't give a better description than by quoting from "The Defense of Morris Island," from *Year Book 1884* [p. 377]: "The burning sun of a Southern summer, its heat intensified by the reflection of the white sand, scorched and blistered your body. An intolerable stench from the half-buried dead, exposed to sight all around, the swarm of flies attracted by the smell and blood, the unventilated Bomb-proofs, crowded with men, many sick, and filled with smoke of Lamps and smell of blood. The din of our own artillery, and the bursting shells of the foe, prevented sleep. The food, however good when it left Charleston, by exposure first on the wharf there, then on the beach at Cummings Point, being often forty-eight hours in transit, was unfit to eat. Water was scarcer than whisky."

The water supply obtained from Barrels sunk in the sand, soon became unfit for use. Dead bodies were all around, and the water smelt and tasted of them, and was half salt anyhow. A limited supply was brought from the city, but this was kept for the wounded. There were some of the wells some distance below Wagner that were

better, but one had to expose himself to reach them. And soon the Ships found it out by the number of men going there; they soon got the range, they shelled these places vigorously, and one risked his life every time he went for water. The way they used to do, was to get all the canteens they could tie on their bodies and carry, creep on their hands and knees a half a mile, fill the Canteens, and return in the same way. The suffering of the garrison, and the patient endurance in the way they bore it, exceeded anything I ever saw or *heard* of.

Between eight and nine hundred men cooped up in the most foul Bomb-proof, with barely food and water to sustain life, under a fearful fire day and night so that exposure was death, and for the last three or four days, not able to exchange a shot with your enemy, just waiting, and seeing your comrades brought in every hour, mangled or wounded, was a trial to these brave men. You seldom heard a murmur, but all must have looked forward to captivity or death. These men, I call Hero's. Any man will fight when there is an enemy before him, and he can return blow for blow, or shot for shot, but put him in a place where he is being constantly shot at, unable to do anything but sit down and takes what comes without returning a blow, seeing comrades and friends killed all around him, I say if men stand this, there are no better soldiers or manhood in the world.

I remember one morning at Wagner, a heavy shell from the land batteries, struck a big square timber over a bombproof off from the headquarters to the S. E. I think it was used as a hospital. The whole front fell in, blocking the passage way, and stopping up the entrance, so those in there (30 or 40 I think) would be suffocated unless relieved.

A detail was put on to dig them out. It was from a Georgia Regiment and was 12 or 15 men. At their head was a Captain, a short, thickset man, a Captain Benning, brave as a Lion and cool as ice. The orders he gave were for the men to go into the passage way, one at a time (for there was room for no more) and dig for five minutes. He was then relieved by another, and so on. The Captain stood by the entrance with his watch in his hand to time them. Now that entrance and passage way was under heavy fire, the shells were bursting every minute or two, the fragments flying all around, and the smoke often hiding the man working.

I was standing close by, looking on, when it came to the turn of a big six-footed man to go in for his turn. I can see him now. He had on an old blue Yankee Overcoat and just a piece of a shirt under it.

He had a full face, light hair, and blue eyes. His face was white, and as he hesitated and fumbled at his coat, the Captain spoke to him sharply, and he said, "Yes, Captain, soon as I get off this coat." The Captain then looked at him good, and said quickly, "D-d, I believe you are afraid." The man jerked his coat off, threw it on the ground, and made a dash for the passage. I saw his white face when he passed me. I saw him throw out a few spades full of sand, then a shell burst right over him. You could not see for the smoke for a moment, and when I did see, the man was down on his knees, his head in the sand and the end of his back bone sticking out several inches. He had been struck by a fragment across the lines, and nearly cut in two. The body was dragged in, and Cap. Benning picked up the shovel, jumped to the place where the man had been killed, and worked at the sand for more than five minutes. His men expostulated, but he waved them back. This scene made a great impression on me. The men in the bomb-proof were finally dug out.

Another time I was sitting outside of the entrance to head quarters at Wagner, with five or six others. The shelling was heavy. We knew it was not a healthy place, but the air there was a little better and we risked it. After being there about an hour I suppose (for time was nothing), a large shell burst, it seemed to me right among us, (though it was 15 or 20 feet outside). I was knocked over, the bench we were sitting on [was] broken. I saw the fire from the shell, and the place was filled with smoke. Something struck me on the leg just above the ankle, and down I went. I did not know for an instant whether I was alive, or dead. I was partially stunned. The boys grabbed me and the first thing I remember, I was in the operating department, and the surgeon asking me, what was the matter. There was a pile of legs, and arms, and several dead bodies lying around, and the smell, Good Lord! I told him "Nothing, except I was stun'd for a moment." Dr. W. C. Ravanel who was one of the surgeons, came up and asked if I would not like a drink of brandy. I must have looked my astonishment, for he laughed and brought me a tumbler half full. This set me up. I had on a pair of what we called, half English Cavalry Boots, that came half way to the knees. I found that a piece of the brass sabot from the shell had hit me above the ankle, cutting the boot but just breaking the skin. I always thought I got the best of that shell, for without it "no Brandy."

I remember at another time, I was just outside the entrance to the West side. A sentinel was kept there as a lookout to report anything unusual. The mortor shells were coming down pretty thick, and I with

others was watching them. The sentinel was hugging the parapet closely, and watching, when a shell dropped very close to him. He made a break for some steps (about 6 or 8) against the wall, and run under them. As he got there the shell exploded, and a fragment took his head, or most of it, off. His cap was pinned to the boards holding the sides, and remained there all that day. After a hurried examination, the body was rolled as close to the wall as possible, and staid there until night, and another man [was] sent to take his place. I don't think the steps were touched. The piece of shell passed between them, and if the man had remained quiet, he probably, would not have been hurt.

The south wall of the Battery facing most of the Yankee Batteries, and the rifle pits of the sharp shooters were near the top of the wall, and [they] had to fire through loopholes made of sand bags. Two Bags were placed at an interval of four to six inches, across these, another bag was placed on them. This formed the loophole, and towards the end, the Yankees had worked so close to Wagner, and had got their shooting down so fine, that all you had to do, was to cover one of these holes three seconds with your cap, and there was a bullet through it. I saw Captain Ogden Hammond one morning (I think he was officer of the day), climb up to the platform, w[h]ere the sharpshooters were, to take an observation. He was very quick about it, but as he turned to leave, a bullet cut his jacket across, from shoulder to shoulder, as if done with a knife. He was not hurt.

I saw one of [our] men push his gun through quickly and fire at a Yankee soldier who had got out of their trenches and was standing up. As he fired, he sang out, "I got him." The next moment, he came rolling down the slope with a bullet through his shoulder. They had got him too. I crawled up once or twice and took a peep at the Yankees working in the trenches, and took a shot for a sharp shooter.

The morning before the evacuation (I think it was), the firing from ships and batteries had been fearful all night, no let up, and daylight brought no relief. I was at Wagner that night for more than half of it, and when daylight came, I walked to the sally port, w[h]ere many men had gathered. When I got there, I met Tom Chapman, a member of the 25th Reg' S. C., a Charleston man, and a well-known character. As I came up, he said, "Harleston, had any breakfast?" and I asked him where he expected any breakfast to come from, when there was not a mouthful in the fort. He pointed to the eastern end of the lines, where a small wooden structure had been built and was used to keep Bacon, and hard-tack in. The heavy firing during the night had cut away the

wall under which it was hidden, and as soon as seen, [it] was knocked to pieces. We could see sides of Bacon and Hard-tack scattered around in the sand. Chapman was a dare devil sort of a fellow, reckless and bold. He said to me, "I have been watching and thinking for some time, and I'll tell you what we can do. If you notice, you will find the Yanks are fireing from a battery well up the island, and they are firing in volleys, five or six guns at a time. Now if we wait, until the next volley comes, and then make a dash, one grab a piece of bacon, and the other some biscuit, we can get our breakfast. Will you try it with me?" I considered a moment and replied, "I am your man." "Done," he said, "as soon as the next volly comes, and it will be soon, we will start."

The point we were going to was one hundred yards or more from us. While we were speaking, three men had started to do the very thing we had intended. They crept down the wall towards the beach as far as they could get, keeping out of sight of the Yankees. Then they made a break for the food. They got there, but before they had time to do anything, two of them were dead, lying among the Bacon. The other was hit, but I heard got back. We saw all this. It was over in a minute. Chapman turned in a quizical sort of way and said, "Harleston, I ain't hungry," and I answered quickly, "Neither am I," [and] cursed a bit. No breakfast that morning!

On the afternoon of the 5th, the Yankee signals were read, and it was discovered that Battery Gregg was to be attacked by Boats that night, and preparations were made to receive them. Troops were sent down from Wagner after dark (the 27th Georgia Reg') and others, and the embrasure of one of the Big Guns at Gregg was cut away, so as to allow the Gun to bear on the creek through which the Boats were expected, I got down to Gregg from Wagner about 11 or 12 o'clock that night, and after talking with Charley Prioleau, we concluded to take a hand in the fight, with the Georgians, and went over to where they were [we] found them in line lying down, outside and below Gregg. We tried to get Rifles from them but they had none to spare, but told us they [were] spare Guns at Gregg. Prioleau and myself went there; and after a little talk, they handed us out two muskets with some cartridges and a handful of caps. We went back to where our Georgia friends were, and laid down between them. Prioleau was two or three men to the right of where I was.

As soon as I got there, I bit off the end of a cartridge, and ram'd it in the gun, but it stopped some distance from the bottom, and while I was trying to force it down, and cursing the gun, Prioleau sang out

to me, "John, what's the matter?" and I said, "I can't get my cartridge down." He said, "Oh Lord man, the Gun was loaded when you got it." I tried mine with the ramrod, and found it out. The men around had heard us, and were tickled to death. They said, 'Why partner, you ought to be glad. There you have two bullets, and a handful of buckshot in your gun, and we have only one in ours. You ought to be proud. When that load gets among them Yankees, there won't be none left for us!' I told them I did not feel very much elevated by it, and offered to swap guns with any of them, so they could get the honour, and glory. This turned the laugh on them, and an officer nearby came to see what was the matter. They told him and it made him laugh, and he said to me, "Well Courier, what are you going to do about it?" I replied, "Shoot her when the Yanks come, if it is the last gun I shoot in the war." He said, "Good for you, you can fill them old Muskets chock full, you can't hurt them. If I was you, I would put another in." But I declined. The Guns they had given Prioleau and myself were old U. S. flint and steel muskets, altered to percussion, big heavy things, made for work. I was more afraid [of] the kicking than the bursting. I had shot them before on the plantation at Rice Birds.

This was amusement to the fellows, and they passed it up and down the line.

Soon after one o'clock in the morning, we heard two or three shots from the guards down below us, and knew the Yankees were coming. It was not long before the leading boats shot out of the creek, and spread out. Two field pieces on our right opened on them, with Grape and Canister. The Infantry had received positive orders not to fire before the word was given, then to aim straight and shoot low. The next thing the 10-inch Gun from Gregg, that was just behind us and over our heads, let loose. We could see the Boats fairly well then. They were fireing Grape from their Boat Howitzers at us when we got the order to fire. I was all ready. I had the old musket well trained, pressed her hard to my shoulder, and pulled the trigger. I heard her roar above the other guns, and she jumped up and back, clear over my head. I thought my shoulder was knocked out of place at first, but I grabbed for the gun, and she seemed all right. I kept on loading and fireing until orders came to cease. Just then I heard yells for a Courier, and as it was my turn, I gave the gun to Prioleau to return, and in five minutes was carrying the news of the repulse of the Yankee Expedition to Wagner.

This account has been spun out, much more than I intended, and an expert writer would have said *all* I have in one-half the space and

words. I am not pleased with it, but if I tear it up, I will never write another, and as it is *not* History and may serve to pass the time to some of my family, I let it stand. I would stop now, but for one more explanation, I think absolutely necessary.

Batteries Wagner and Gregg were evacuated beginning the night of the 6th of September 1863, and early morning of the 7th. In Johnson's *Defense of Charleston [Harbor]* (see "Appendix," page 116), Col. L. M. Keitt's report of the evacuation of Morris Island has this in it: "I ordered Cap. Huguenin down, sending word by Private John A. Stewart, Gist Guards, the Cavalry couriers having left without permission" [p. cxix]. Now these couriers were the Charleston Light Dragoons, and the charge is uncalled for. These men were Col. Keitt's equals in *every way*, and four of them afterwards laid down their lives on the bloody fields of Virginia. These are not men to be accused [of] desertion, for leaving without permission is Desertion. I never saw or read Keitt's report until six or seven years ago, and was indignant when I read it, and wrote a *strong* denial, and intended to publish it, but was advised by friends not to. Col Keitt had gone, nearly all the Couriers were gone too, and to start the question would do no good and might make very bad feelings, they said, all that knew the Dragoons would know the accusation unjust.

Now this is what I remember to have happened. The night the Evacuation took place, I was Courier at Wagner. I got up there with dispatches, I should judge, about nine o'clock that night. There was an unusual stir going on when I arrived. Men were hurrying about, orders being issued, and the garrison were assembling. Shortly after, part of the men marched out and took their way down to Gregg, others quickly followed, and in one hour and a half or two hours, the Battery was pretty much deserted. I remained near the Head Quarters. Officers and [men] were passing in and out all the time. I saw Cap. Bryan repeatedly, he passed close to me and saw me, and knew I was a Courier. He appeared to be directing the whole movement of troops, and most successfully did he do it. He was everything then, when the least blunder would have exposed the movement, and the last man there would have been killed or captured. I believe it was *entirely* due to his skill, and coolness that the garrison got away.

I was by those Head quarters when Col Keitt came out with some officers and orderlies, and took his way down to Fort Gregg. I could have put my hand on him. Not a word was said to me by any one. I remained in that Bomb proof, I should guess, from a half to 3/4 of an

hour after he left. I can't tell, but the place was deserted. I saw some men with canteens looking around. I went to the Sally port and stood there awhile looking out. I saw some men up on the battery among the Guns. I thought they were spiking them. I was worried, I did not know what to do. I knew the Head Quarters, and garrison had gone, and did not know who was in charge up there at that time, or where to go to find out. There was not a living soul near me. I determined to leave. I started straight out among the sand hills to get some shelter from the heavy fireing, but the sand was so heavy and I was so tired, I struck for the Beach. I did not meet any one on my way down until I reached Gregg.

I passed one dead man soon after I struck the beach, with the surf running in up to his knees. At Gregg, I saw some men, about 30 or 40, getting into the boats that were waiting on the beach; and more men, I took them to be Artillerymen, coming in from the sand hills. I went at once to the Courier Head Quarters. There I found Charles E. Prioleau, and I think Elmore (there was a Courier with him anyhow). Prioleau said, "Why, w[h]ere have you come from? We have been looking out for you for the last two hours, and thought you had been killed, or captured." I explained about my being left at Wagner, and waiting until tired, and I asked what their orders were. They said they had none. I asked where the Sergeant was and was told he had gone out half an hour or more ago, and they had not seen him since. I said, "Let us go and look for him, or somebody in authority, for I have *no idea* of being left here for the Yankees." We went out, down to the boats where men were embarking, then to Gregg. We did not meet the Sergt, or any one who could give us orders or information. One man at Gregg told us the fuse was laid to the Magazine to blow the fort up, just as soon as they got orders, and he wished they would come quickly.

We started back towards the Boats that were comeing and going all the time, and met near them The'o G. Stoney, and upon our report of our fix, and the absence of any officers to report to or get orders from, he advised us to leave in the next batch of boats, then returning. While we were speaking, Mr. Francis J. Porcher came up, and on hearing our position, joined with Mr. Stoney in advising us to leave. They were waiting for the men from Wagner, (Cap. Huguenin, Cap. Pinckney, Lieut. Mazyck and some men,) and there might not be room for us, in their Boat. There were very few men then waiting to get off. They were coming in, in ones and twos, from the sandhills, and when the Boats did come in, Mr. Stoney went with us, and told the officer

in charge who we were, and to take us, and we did go, and were put on a River Steamer near Sumter. I believe, Col. Keitt, and all his officers had left Morris Island before I got down there. There was no place for him to hide, and we (the couriers) looked all over the place, from Gregg to the end, and found no officers to give us orders or directions, and I have always thought, and still do think, that the Cavalry Couriers at the evacuation of Morris Island, were deserted (just forgotten), instead of deserting. My finding Prioleau and another at their Post when I came down, shows they had been there all the time, waiting for orders and ready for duty, and if not found when wanted, it was not their fault.

Just before leaving I wanted to shoot the little Grey Horse that had served us so well, but Mr. Stoney would not let me. I took off his bridle, and carried it in the Boat with me to remember him by, and when we got to the Steamer there was a good sea on, and trouble in climbing on board, and I forgot the bridle and left it in the Boat.

We crept in among some No.Cn. troops, and laid on the deck utterly worn out. One old North Carolinian recognized us, and said, "Aint you Couriers?" and when told that we were, said, "Well Boys, I am powerful glad to see you. I never did expect to again. I don't see how you ever did get through. I used to watch you." He then remarked, "I have heard the preachers talk about Hell, a great big hole, full of fire and brimstone, where a bad fellow was dropped in, and I will allow it used to worrie me at times, but Gentlemen Hell can't be worse than Battery Wagner. I have got out of that, and the other place ain't going to worrie me any more!" I went to sleep, and when I woke up, it was day light, and the Steamer at the wharf in Charleston.

No doubt it will be noticed that I speak much of myself in these papers. It is *not* from Egotism. I did *no more* and *not* as much as some of the Couriers. They went through what I did, saw what I did, and run all the risks, and suffered the same privations. I could not see any way but to show what I saw personally. Remember this was written *entirely* from memory, 38 years after they occurred, and I feel memory is very deceptive. I may be wrong in instances, but it is as I now remember.

J. H.

SOME COUNTERFEITERS OF PROVINCIAL CURRENCY

By KENNETH SCOTT

Wagner College

In May 1735, counterfeited £15-bills of South Carolina, very much like the genuine money, were discovered in circulation. A warning printed in the newspaper read:

. . . the first F in the word FIFTEEN in the true Bills has a bigger stroke at the bottom, and in the Margin the turning round of the Flower on the back of the F is very regular, but in the Counterfeits it is not so but more streight and irregular, likewise one part of the heart in the middle of the Line in the true Bills just touches the Flourishing work above it, and in the Counterfeits there is more distance. It is supposed the General Assembly will order all the *Fifteen Pounds* Bills to be call'd in, in order to stop and prevent the further dispersing of those Counterfeits.¹

The surmise of the printer about the calling in of the £15-bills was correct. The General Assembly and Council ordered that, since the current South Carolina bills of £15, £4 and £3 had been counterfeited and uttered by "divers Evil-minded Persons," all notes of these denominations were to be not current or legal tender after August 7. Before that date, the owners and possessors were to turn them in to the commissioners, Charles Pinckney, Othniel Beale, Gabriel Manigault, John Champneys and Ropers Sanders, who would meet to receive the money on Wednesday and Thursday, June 18 and 19, and on every Wednesday and Thursday up to August 7, at the home in Charleston of the merchant, Othniel Beale.²

The *South Carolina Gazette* of July 19 revealed the names of two of those thought to be responsible for forging the bills:

Last Week were presented to the Grand Jury at Savannah, Bills of Indictment against *Thomas Mellichamp* and *Richard Turner*, for Counterfeiting current Money Bills of this Province, and issuing the

¹ *South-Carolina Gazette*, May 17, 1735, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, June 14, 1735, p. 3. Othniel Beale (1688-1773) was born in Marblehead in New England. In Charleston he was active in public office, serving as justice of the peace, engineer and commissioner of fortifications, colonel of militia and president of the council. A. K. Gregorie (ed.), *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina 1671-1779*, (Washington, D. C. The American Historical Association, 1950), p. 483, note 37.

same knowing them to be Counterfeits: That against *Mellichamp* was returned *Ignoramus*, the other *Billa vera*, the Evidence being full it's thought he will be found Guilty by the Petty Jury, as a Cheat; upon the Evidence it appeared, That *Turner* was directed by old Mr. *Mellichamp* to make such a Press as he had in his Island, that *Turner* did make such another, that he was privy to all the Steps taken by him in stamping the said Bills: His two Servants were Evidences against him, who were Witnesses to the several Actions of *Mellichamp* and their Master.

The day before the appearance of the notice, Governor Thomas Broughton issued a proclamation informing the public that the £10-bills of the province had also been counterfeited, and calling in all money of that denomination before September 18, after which date the bills in question were no longer to be of any value.³

Although the advertisement of the commissioners had been printed for six consecutive weeks, not half of the £15-, £4- and £3-bills in circulation had been turned in, so the commissioners (J. Hammerton also appears as one) on July 26 announced that they would sit to receive bills every day except Sunday up to August 7, and after that date would meet at Mr. Beale's to receive the £10-bills each day except Sunday up to September 20, after which the £10-notes would no longer be a tender in law.⁴

Some person in Savannah, using the fictitious name of "Timothy Telltruth," on July 20 sent to the printer of the *South-Carolina Gazette* the following:

On Saturday the 12th Instant the Bayliffs and Recorder of this Town being met at Quarterly Town-Court, held for this Province, *William⁵ Mellichamp* and *Richard Turner* were indicted for Combining and Confederating with divers ill-minded Persons to counterfeit sundry Money Bills, being the Currency of *South-Carolina*, also for uttering sundry of the like Bills, knowing the same to be counterfeit, and thereby endeavouring to cheat divers of his Majesty's Subjects, and also for making a Press and other Utensils for Counter-

³ *South-Carolina Gazette*, July 26, 1735, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1735, p. 3.

⁵ Should the name have been "Thomas"? There was a William Mellichamp who had been in Georgia but was in Portsmouth, England, on September 8, 1735, on which day he wrote to the Board of Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia. In his letter he referred to "the ill natur'd aspersion" which had been thrown on his whole family since he left America and to "the scandal" which might have lessened him and his sons in the esteem of the board. *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1910), XXI, 5.

feiting, the better to accomplish such Designs, all which doings were said to be done with an evil Intent, and contrary, &c. The said *Mellichamp* being not to be found, they proceeded to the Trial of *Turner*: This Crime being in its Consequence injurious as well to the Province of *South-Carolina*, as our selves, the Bayliffs resolved to desire Mr. *Abercromby*, Attorney-General of *South-Carolina*, who is retained as Council for the Trustees within that Province, to be present at the Trial, which was not till Monday the 14th, when the Petit-Jury found him guilty of making Utensils for Counterfeiting, as laid in the Indictment, and acquitted him of the rest, upon this the Bayliffs and Recorder proceeded to judgment, and it being a Misdemeanor of a very high Nature, fined him 200 l. *Sterling*, and committed him to Goal till his Fine is paid, or further Order from the Trustees. . . .⁶

The next development in the affair was reported in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of August 23:

On Monday last Oth. *Beale* Esq; one of the Commissioners appointed by Law for reprinting, signing and exchanging the current Paper Bills of Credit of this Province, having received Information from a Gentleman in the Country, that there was a Box containing a great Number of counterfeit Bills in Capt. *Sam: Underwood's* Barn on Wadmellaw Island, and that *Thomas Mellichamp* and one *Morgan* had uttered and paid away several of the said Bills in that Neighbourhood; *William Hamilton* Constable was sent away on Tuesday, with an Order from His Honour the Lt. Governor and Council, to search after and seize the said Box; and a Warrant from *Tho: Dale* Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, to apprehend the said *Tho: Mellichamp*: Being arrived at the said *Underwood's* and going privately up to the Barn, he there found the said *Mellichamp* and *Morgan* cutting and hammering of Brass, upon their discovering *Hamilton*, *Mellichamp* immediately fled, but being pursued by some of the Company was knock'd down and taken in the Corn-field, *Morgan* likewise endeavoured to escape but was prevented by the Constable; they had a loaded Musket beside 'em, but being so unexpectedly surprized, they had no Opportunity of making use of it. In the said Barn were found a Rowler and Press, and in the House a Box containing several Instruments and Utensils belonging to Engravers and Rowling-press Printers, together with one or more Plates engraven in Imitation of the *Twelve Pounds ten shilling* Orders of this Province, with Plates for the *Three Pound*

⁶ *South Carolina Gazette*, Aug. 2, 1735, p. 2.

and *One Pound* Bills of Currency, and several other things. The Constable likewise found in *Mellichamp's* Pocket book several Counterfeits of the *Twelve Pound ten shilling* Orders, some signed, others not, together with three *One Pound* Bills signed, and one *Six Pound five shillings* Order.

Having thus seized the several Men and Things before mentioned, he brought them all down to *Charlestown*, on Wednesday night last, where having made Affidavit of what he had done and discovered before the above mentioned Magistrate, the said *Thomas Mellichamp* and *Joshua Morgan* were by him committed to Goal, in order to be tried at the ensuing Sessions. The said *Thomas Mellichamp* was at the same time committed by Mr. Justice Lamboll for the same Crime, on the Information of the Magistrates of Georgia.

Mellichamp was housed in the common jail of *Charleston*. The turnkey was *Thomas Gallway*, who, at the orders of the Provost Marshal, *Robert Hall*, put both fetters and handcuffs on *Mellichamp*. Some persons complained of such harsh treatment of the prisoner, whereupon *Mr. Hall* had the handcuffs removed but asked *Mr. Charles Pinckney* how he should confine *Mellichamp*. *Pinckney* replied that the law required him to "keep his prisoners safely" and added that, "as *Mellichamp* was charged with having been guilty of a very hainous Felony tending to the injury of every Man in the Province, it behoved him to take particular Care to prevent his Escape." *Hall* said he would run no risks and would have the handcuffs put on again. Later the Provost Marshal again visited *Mr. Pinckney*, informing him that as the Sessions approached, his prisoners grew so turbulent that he apprehended it would be difficult to keep them without having a watch set over the jail at night, and that he would immediately apply for one to the commanding officer in the town.

Mr. Hall promptly made such application to the Honorable *Joseph Wragg, Esq.*, who replied by letter that the Captain of the Town Watch said he had so few guards that he could not station a sentry at the prison and could only order the rounds that way every hour. *Wragg* therefore advised the Provost Marshal to hire two guards to keep watch under arms at night in case he feared that a jail break might be attempted.

There was indeed, cause for apprehension. On Friday, September 19, Turnkey *Gallway* reported to *Mr. Hall* his fears that *Mellichamp* and the other felons intended to make an escape, "for that there having been some Persons, who the Night before had given a knock against the end of the House under the Criminal Room Window, which this Deponent [Gallway] apprehended to be a Signal, a Pillow-bere tied to a String

having been thereupon immediately let down out of the Window, and on this Deponent's going out to the end of the House he saw two Men standing, who on sight of this Deponent instantly ran away."

Gallway, on Mr. Hall's orders, tried in vain to hire persons to keep watch and even went a second time to beg the Captain of the Watch to send a sentry to the jail. The turnkey's fears were well founded, for on Sunday, September 21, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, Mellichamp and three other prisoners attacked Thomas Gallway. Three persons who dwelt near the jail gave accounts of the affair: one, Joseph Fidler, an upholsterer, was sitting up in his house near the prison when he heard the jailer's wife cry out that the prisoners were murdering her husband. Fidler ran to the jail, where he picked up a musket which he saw standing in the entry below stairs. With this weapon he rushed up the stairs, when he "heard a great knocking at the Stair head-door." He asked who was making the noise, to which question someone on the other side replied that it was Thomas Mellichamp. Fidler told him he could not come down that way, whereupon Mellichamp at once went to a window, broke the bars and in company with three other prisoners jumped out. Fidler ran down the stairs and out into the garden, where he took aim at Mellichamp and tried to fire, but the gun would not go off. At this Mellichamp broke through the garden paling and escaped.

Two other neighbors, Lawrence Mckoy, a vintner, whose house was next to the jail, and Childermas Croft, whose residence was next but one to the jail, both ran to the scene, arriving shortly after Fidler. Both had been abed, and Mckoy heard Turnkey Gallway cry out "help Neighbours, for Godsake help! the Prisoners are risen, and are murdering me!" Mckoy sent his maid to inform Mr. Hall of what was happening, while he himself hastened to the jail. His maid's shouts that the prisoners were murdering the jailer caused Croft to spring from his bed and hurry to the jail. Croft, Mckoy and Fidler all testified under oath that a few minutes after their arrival, Provost Marshal Hall appeared at the prison "in his gown and shoes slip'd, without stocking, and a Sword in his Hand."⁷

As Thomas Mellichamp and Joshua Morgan had been counterfeiting on the premises of Captain Samuel Underwood when they were arrested, Underwood also was taken into custody. He was released on bail, but on October 16 appeared before the General Sessions of the Peace in Charleston, and was committed to jail on suspicion, since the commissioners for restamping the paper bills of credit had received

⁷ These accounts of Mellichamp's escape are in the *South-Carolina Gazette* of October 11, 1735, pp. 1-2.

several informations and evidences that he had been aiding Mellichamp and Morgan in counterfeiting bills.⁸

Morgan was tried at the same sessions on one indictment, but, though the evidence was considered very full, the petit jury found him not guilty. At this the Counsel for the King postponed action on two other indictments against him until the next sessions, in the hope that another jury might find the evidence sufficient to convict him.⁹ There appears to be no record of his trial at a later date and it is not improbable that he turned King's evidence against Thomas Mellichamp.

Soon Mellichamp was again in the clutches of the law when several Swiss were paid £175 by order of two members of Council "for bringing down Mellichamp."¹⁰ About four o'clock on the afternoon of March 12, 1736, the prisoner was brought to the bar at the Court of General Sessions for South Carolina. Constable William Hamilton had, by direction of the commissioners for exchanging the current bills of credit, served subpoenas on witnesses to appear against Mellichamp.¹¹ A bill of indictment against him for counterfeiting and passing the South Carolina bills was read. When he was asked to plead thereto, he first begged the court for a copy of the indictment and an hour's time to see if he could "find something therein to quash it." This favor was granted, and, at the insistence of the court, he selected as his attorneys Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Lewis. Then he pleaded not guilty. The grand jury had found another *billa vera* against him for forging 20-shilling South Carolina bills, and, after he had pleaded innocent to this also, he was ordered back into custody until nine o'clock the next morning, when he was to stand trial.¹² He was tried and convicted¹³ but probably got off with a fine and perhaps a short term in jail. By June the Assembly passed an act for emitting money to exchange the bills of credit and "making them less subject to be Counterfeited."¹⁴

By the end of July news had come from Charleston that Thomas Mellichamp was coming to Savannah, where a reward of £10 was offered for his detection. A grand jury in that city had found an indict-

⁸ *South-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 18, 1735, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1735, p. 2.

¹⁰ J. H. Easterby (ed.), *The Colonial Records of South Carolina: The Journal of the House of Assembly, November 10, 1736—June 7, 1739* (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951), p. 203.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 635.

¹² *South-Carolina Gazette*, March 20, 1736, p. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1736, p. 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1736, p. 1.

ment against him for forgery and he had been convicted.¹⁵ The reward of £10 brought quick results, for on August 4, Mellichamp was arrested at Savannah, "together with a Gang of Men of very vile Characters, upon some of whom stolen Goods were taken." Mellichamp was committed to jail. His family and mother, being concerned in the doings of the gang and in conveying away goods, were expelled from Georgia.¹⁶

By October 14, Mellichamp was no longer in custody in Savannah. Perhaps, like his family, he had been expelled from the colony or he may have made his escape. In any event, when some rogues had been pursued and captured, it was ordered by the magistrates on the morning of October 14, 1736, that William Gough take them "to the house [in Savannah] where Tom Mellichamp lately had been a prisoner, his chains still remaining on the premises," and there to chain and fetter them.¹⁷ With this notice Mellichamp disappears from the records of the day.

Thomas Mellichamp—unless he was another man of the same name—had an influential connection in England, a brother, the Reverend Elisha Mellichamp, who in 1734 contributed £12 for the establishment of the Colony of Georgia, and whose letter, requesting that two servants be sent to his brother Thomas in Georgia, was read before the Palace Court on April 16, 1735.¹⁸

Mellichamp's associate, Richard Turner, was soon released from jail and was probably at his home when some of his friends got into trouble there. One William Watkins of Abercorn had married the widow of James Willoughby and then, when she was already with child by him, discovered that his own wife was alive in England. Thereupon he got the woman married to a certain Richard Mellichamp but apparently continued to associate with her himself. At some time before November 20, 1735, Watkins and the woman were one night at Richard Turner's, when her new husband, Richard Mellichamp, came and desired her to go home. She was unwilling, and Mellichamp, exasperated, said he would sell her "for a Groat at any time." One of the company then bid a shilling for her and she was finally sold for £5 sterling. Mellichamp said that he was satisfied, and the woman "declared she would go with the buyer and behaved Immodestly. One Langford then in Company

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1736, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1736, p. 3.

¹⁷ *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, XXI, 253-254.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 71 and II, 75.

at their desire conveyed them to his Lodging, where they were bedded in publick, and the five pounds paid and Accepted of." The authorities heard of the matter, and a grand jury found a misdemeanor against Watkins and Langford. Watkins was whipped and jailed for want of surety, and Langford was bound over to good behavior. The woman was charged with bigamy and jailed.¹⁹

Turner escaped trouble on this score but on October 16 of the next year he was ordered not to depart the colony because of a debt.²⁰ The journal of Colonel William Stephens, secretary to the trustees of Georgia, contains two entries concerned with Turner. The first, dated Thursday, December 29, 1737, reads:

Upon a little Conference with the Magistrates this Forenoon, I was told another notorious Defect in the Course of Justice, which happened a few Days since, An Execution under the Town Seal was granted against one Turner, a Carpenter, for Payment of a just Debt of 5 or 6 1. and put into the Hands of a proper Tything-man to serve: When the Tything-man went to make Distress, Turner and his Wife used him very roughly, shuffled away betwixt them what Goods were of most Value, and sent him off not without some Blows in the Contention; whereupon he complained to the Magistrates, and they granted a Warrant immediately to apprehend Turner, and bring him before them to answer, &c. but he getting Notice somehow or other of it, lay concealed in the House of one Scot a Gunsmith, and a notorious Dealer in Spirits; who with other Help, took a fit opportunity to carry him off in a Boat: Mr. Christie, the Recorder, being accidentally at the same Time near the Guard-House, and seeing the Boat going off with Turner in it, ordered the Sentinel to fire his Piece (a signal for his Officer to come as customary) and to hale the Boat to come ashore, threatening to fire at them if they did not: But they in the Boat called to him in Derision, bidding them fire, or what else they pleased; and kept on their Way till they were soon out of Reach. This Turner also lies under a heavy Fine to the Trust, being formerly found guilty of aiding Mellichamp in forging Currency Notes; which in Mercy was never yet levied upon him; and owing many other small Sums, it is apprehended he will not return again, but take Example of other Runaways lately gone the same Way.²¹

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XXI, 57.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 252.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 58-59.

Apprehension that Turner would not return was erroneous, for Colonel Stephens noted on January 11, 1738, "Richard Turner the Carpenter, who fled lately from Justice . . . appearing now again publickly, in open Contempt of all Authority. The Magistrates, in Pursuance of the Execution granted against him, committed him to Prison." ²²

²² *Ibid.*, 66.

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Courtesy of the American Academy of Arts and Science
BENJAMIN THOMPSON, COUNT RUMFORD, 1783

COUNT RUMFORD: HIS MAJESTY'S COLONEL IN CAROLINA

By C. HARRISON DWIGHT

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Benjamin Thompson (1753-1814), better known as Count Rumford, and the most celebrated of early American scientists, was a man of varied interests and wide capabilities. During his eventful life he served as school teacher, storekeeper, engraver, researcher in physics and chemistry, philanthropist and statesman.* He was the founder of the Royal Institution of Great Britain. He read scientific papers before the French Institute and the Royal Society of London. The Elector of Bavaria created him a Count for his distinguished services. George III knighted him for the renown he had brought to England. At the end, his will was witnessed by the Marquis de Lafayette.

While still a youth in colonial New England, Thompson had begun to assume the rôle of a soldier. After the evacuation of Boston in 1776, he went to England with dispatches from General Gage. Soon he was on good terms with Lord George Germain, secretary of state for the colonies, who gave him a desk in his office and made him his private secretary. By September 1780, Thompson had been promoted to the position of under-secretary of state for the Northern department, charged with the practical details for recruiting, equipping, and transporting the British forces. His influence was decidedly felt as long as Germain remained in office, but Thompson was astute enough to realize that his patron's days of power were limited.

The capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown precipitated a storm in England. A vigorous minority savagely attacked Germain as the one most responsible for the American war, and now concerned with its continuance. Seeing the political storm about him, his lordship offered Thompson a commission as lieutenant colonel. This was an opportunity for the young man to absent himself from an embarrassing situation in London, and would enable him to demonstrate his talent for leadership.

Colonel Thompson's duties were to shape into military form some scattered forces in America to fight for the king in the last days of a

* For another activity, see Sanford Brown and Kenneth Scott, "Count Rumford: International Informer," in *The New England Quarterly*, XXI, No. 1, March 1948. Editor.

conflict already practically over, and he was given command of a regiment of cavalry, the King's American Dragoons, which his friends were supposedly raising in this country. He arrived in Charleston on H.M.S. "Rotterdam" early in January 1782, but heavy weather prevented the continuance of his journey to New York. His superior officer was now Lieutenant General Alexander Leslie, who assigned him a detachment of 200 horse, 500 infantry, and two pieces of artillery. Part of the men were the Volunteers of Ireland, who had been organized in Philadelphia and had first served under Lord Rawdon.

Among the opponents of the king's forces in South Carolina was General Francis Marion, known as the "Swamp Fox" from his intimate knowledge of the country and his uncanny ability to harass the British at unexpected times. His family had been residents of the province since 1690, when his grandfather, Benjamin Marion, a Huguenot from Poitou, had settled there.

At the time of Colonel Thompson's arrival, as the British were still holding Charleston, the capital, the legislature of South Carolina defiantly convened at Jacksonborough, a village only twenty-five miles away. General Marion had to leave his brigade to serve as a senator, his presence being necessary to form a quorum. From Jacksonborough the General wrote to Colonel Peter Horry on January 23, 1782, instructing him to send some of his cavalry along the Wando River to Cainhoy, to be used in "cutting off the enemy's Horse, which go out a foraging," and that "no boats or persons should pass from or to Charles Town without your or my passport" and, furthermore, that orders were to be sent to the plantations on the Santee not to thrash out or beat any rice, but what may be necessary for home use. This was a needed precaution against the arrival of foraging parties.

Within a week General Leslie was writing to Sir Henry Clinton, of the disposition of General Marion's forces up the Cooper River, near Strawberry Ferry, twenty miles north of the city, on the edge of a swamp, "suspicious and jealous of our intentions." Leslie reported this time that a gallant attack had been made on Marion's cavalry, and, apparently outnumbering the attackers, had won a temporary victory. But the British in Charleston continued to be in dire straits for provisions and Major Craig led a sortie out of the city in the direction of Monck's Corner, where he had fallen in with Marion's Brigade and been repulsed.

Colonel Thompson's first taste of war came apparently on the 20th of February, when his cavalry reached Daniel's Island in the evening, after a march from Goose Creek by Monck's Corner and Huger's Bridge,

without seeing the enemy. An American guard had been surprised at Strawberry Ferry, but Marion's main body had gone off towards the Santee River. No contact had been made with the foe, and Thompson reported that he had brought in "140 head of horned cattle, besides hogs, sheep and goats."

On Saturday, February 23rd, Colonel Thompson led his forces up the Cooper River, and on Sunday he crossed over to Daniel's Island. Returning to the mainland, he advanced rapidly to attack Colonel Horry's position on the North side of Wambaw Creek. But patriots in town had taken note of the actions of the British troops there, had given the alarm, and brought the desired information to Marion at Jacksonborough. Taking with him Colonel Hezekiah Maham, Marion set out rapidly over a circuitous route to Mepkin, where Maham's regiment was encamped. Unfortunately, there was a rumor in the camp that the enemy was now retiring. As a result of this misinformation, Colonel Maham rode over to his plantation to recover from a slight indisposition, and General Marion went on to the encampment of his brigade—only to find that it had been surprised and dispersed by Colonel Thompson!

Forewarned of the presence of new and active British forces in the general vicinity of Charleston, Colonel Horry had only the day before posted patrols along the Christ Church Parish Road and sent scouts to St. Thomas's Parish. At Durant's plantation, near Wambaw Creek, was a newly-raised continental regiment, which, on the very day of Thompson's energetic advance, had been turned over to Colonel McDonald by Horry, who had become temporarily unable to report for duty. The British officer had moved forward rapidly, part of the time mounting some of his infantry behind dragoons, and had covered the thirty-six miles without halting, save to capture an American officer and six men. Captain Bennet, in command of the American scouts in St. Thomas's Parish, had rushed to give warning to Major Benison, whom Colonel Horry had left at Mepkin, but that gentleman, at his Sunday dinner, would not be disturbed. The captain then rode over to headquarters and tried to inform Colonel McDonald, who was also at his dinner, and refused to believe that there could be any sizeable British force at large in the vicinity. He had himself, he said, been along the Christ Church Road only yesterday, and had seen none of the enemy. However, he did issue orders to Major James, who had just arrived in camp for instructions, to assume command of the regiment. Within half an hour, firing started. Royal mounted militia under Colonel Doyle, had arrived and formed opposite Benison's party near Wambaw Bridge.

At a whistle from Doyle, the militia charged and the continental line broke. Benison was killed and Colonel Horry's corps would have been almost annihilated but for the collapse of the Wambaw Bridge! General Marion heard of the disaster to the American regiment while at Mepkin, and putting himself at the head of Maham's men, hurried to Wambaw Creek, some forty-five miles away.

Colonel Thompson, after his success of Sunday, decided to gain time by a deception. He made a show of driving cattle, to imply that he was temporarily ceasing his military attacks. His infantry he sent towards the British camp at Wappataw, in Christ Church Parish, to give the impression that all of his forces were being dispersed. Knowing that his real foe was Francis Marion, who was well versed in the art of war, in this land of swamp and forest and obscure roads amid the moss-draped live oaks, the Colonel decided to start out again early Monday morning for the Santee. The first to encounter him were two pickets from Marion's Brigade, who gave themselves away by firing on the British. Since this slight brush indicated that there must be infantry in the neighborhood, Thompson carefully formed his line of cavalry and mounted militia. Captain John Carraway, commanding Maham's corps, now alarmed, drew his men up, while Marion posted a small body of infantry along a fence. Then he ordered Smith to charge. But it so happened that a pond was in the way, causing confusion and disorder among the raw American troops. This opportunity was not lost upon Thompson. He charged with a shout of encouragement to his men, and the Carolinians were routed. Some attempted to swim the Santee, only to be shot by the British; others escaped bullets, only to be drowned in the river. One of these was Lieutenant Smyser, of Horry's cavalry. However, a considerable party, under Captain Jones, took the river road, and, by lifting the bridge, stopped the further march of the enemy.

This defeat considerably vexed General Marion. On the 2nd of March he wrote to Colonel Horry: "We lost a fine opportunity to cut the enemy's Horse to pieces, by Maham's Horse not charging as it was ordered, but I believe it was principally owing to Capt. Smith not telling his officers and men what they were going about. I rallied part of the Horse less than half a mile, and sent them to cover the scattered men. The enemy never followed us out of the plantation." After this skirmish, Colonel Thompson returned to Cainhoy where he could consolidate and provision his forces without molestation.

Thompson now conceived a plan for capturing General Nathanael Greene at his headquarters, Ashley Hall, in St. Andrew's Parish. He decided that the best place to cross the Ashley River was at Bee's ferry, ten miles from Charleston. When he reached the river bank, the tide was at ebb, and the miry banks bounded three hundred feet of open water, with no boat in sight. Major Fraser was ordered to lead the way for the troops. The Major suggested that the task was impossible. Thompson was reasonable and agreed on a compromise. A sergeant from the best of the troops, mounted on the Major's finest horse, was to try to cross the river. The result was the loss of the noble animal and the narrow escape of the sergeant from drowning!

The records contain no further mention of Colonel Thompson in the Carolinas. In the spring of 1783 he was in New York prepared to take command of his regiment at last. But his exploits in South Carolina had so inspired a young Tory by the name of Andrew DeVeaux, that the youth ravaged the plantation of General Stephen Bull in St. Helena's Parish, and destroyed the nearby Sheldon Church.

In April 1783 Colonel Thompson returned to England, and America saw him no more.¹

¹ The *Complete Works of Rumford* (4 vols., Boston, 1870), with a memoir by George E. Ellis, published in 1870-1875, by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, is the chief source for this article. Also used were Allen French, *General Gage's Informers*, the University of Michigan Press, 1932; and Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts*, vols. 1 and 2.

DIARY OF JOHN BERKLEY GRIMBALL 1858-1865

(Continued from October)

17th. July 1863—I invested today \$500—belonging to my daughter in 7 per cent Confed: bonds. They gave me a certificate to that effect, the bonds not having been yet sent on. The \$500 was made up of \$150 which she gave me when I left Spartanburg, and \$350 which I added to it—and thus paid to her the interest due on my Bond to her, on the 1st. Jany. 1863.

I also paid to my son Berkley who came to town this morning for a short time, \$619-60/100—the proceeds of the sale of his Greenville Bond and the interest for two years. I paid him by a check on the So. W. R. R. Bank, in favor of Adams, Frost & Co. or order. I also drew from my account in the above Bank for my use \$400.

The enemy shelling Battery Wagner today. Wrote to Rev. Mr. Bowman about my cattle and men. In a letter from him this morning he informs me that Robin, his wife Grace, Amy (Roberts wife) and old Andrew went to the Yankees on the 10th.—the day of the late Raid.

18th.—I gave my sister at one time \$15—then \$10 and this morning \$15—for a special purpose.

Mr. Bruns gave me a letter for Berkley enclosing, he told me, a check to have an endorsement rectified. Through Arthur I gave it in charge to one of the Smiths—a son of Mrs. Mason Smith, whom I saw and who promised to deliver it to Berkley. Smith belongs to the "Marions". Heavy shelling at Morris Isld. all day—by the enemy and our own Batteries.

19th.—There was a desperate contest last night at Wagner Battery. The enemy having shelled it all day, in the evening about 8 O'Clock assaulted the works with a great force—they made eight successive assaults—each time with fresh troops—negroes and whites—at one time they had possession of a portion of the Battery but were finally repulsed with great slaughter—our men, though fatigued with the duties and heat of the day, behaved most gallantly. Col. [J. C.] Simkins was killed—as was also Capt [W. H.] Ryan, of the Irish—the latter it is said by our own men, by mistake, after he had with great bravery driven the enemy off and was returning. Major [David] Ramsay was badly wounded.

23d.—Since the last entry nothing of importance has happened in military view in this neighborhood. The enemy occasionally shelling and we sometimes replying. The great anxiety as to Charleston seems to have subsided.

25th.—Heavy guns every day, but no assault upon the Battery.

Today, the 5 mattresses for which I had written to Mr. Bowman, were brought here by the Express. Recd. a letter from Mr. Bowman. The Col. keeps his bed all the time and is very feeble. There ought to be mattresses remaining at the Grove.

29th.—The same state of things at Morris Isld. except that the enemy are advancing with their Batteries. The Ironsides and a Monitor are said to be now shelling Battery Wagener—we hear heavy firing.

Yesterday I sent some title deeds to Spartanburg to my wife, by the hands of Mr. Robert Macbeth. Arthur was sick yesterday with Catarrhal fever—but is out today. Dr. Chazal attended him.

On the 27th. July I subscribed for three months to the "Daily Courier"—paying at the same time.

31st.—Yesterday Mr. Russell Middleton and I went up to Adams Run to make a visit to Col. Morris, who lies there feeble and sick. He has been suffering from an attack of Dysentery and keeps his bed. He has no fever—and if the symptoms of Dysentery could be overcome, would do well. He is trying the Homeopaths treatment. I dined with Mr. and Mrs. Manigault Middleton at Mr. Bowman's. We returned to town in the afternoon. I gave Sarah \$20 this morning which will be disposed of as agreed upon by my Sister and myself. My Sister is quite sick. Arthur went to John's Isld. today. He will remain there for the present on duty. He and three other signal corps men.

1st. August 1863.—My excellent and most beloved Sister, Eliza Berkley Wilkins, died this day at 1/2 past 4 OClock in the afternoon, of Typhoid Dysentery. She began to be sick last Sunday night, the 26th. July. Dr. Eli Geddings attended her. I never thought her dangerously ill until Thursday morning. I have thus lost a most kind and affectionate, and unwavering friend—and her children a Mother most devoted. She lived for them, and they were wrapped up in her. May God Comfort the poor girls.

2d. August—Sunday—The funeral services were performed at the English Lutheran Church, by the Pastor, the Rev. Dr. Bachman—and the remains afterward taken to the Wilkins vault in St. Pauls Church-

yard. My Sister had for many years been a member of the Circular Church, but since the great fire in which that Church was destroyed, she has been out of the city for more than a year, and when here did not go to the place uptown to which Revd. Mr. Rice and most of the congregation resorted. Her connection therefore with them was much weakened and Dr. Bachman being an old friend, to whom she and the whole family were much attached, and who had visited her as soon as he heard of her illness, and prayed with the family we all consulted our feelings, in which we are sure, if it had been possible, we would have had her sanction, and requested him to perform the services. The girls could not bear, overwhelmed and shattered by this great calamity, that the service should be performed at the house. Nor could they go to the Church. Mrs. Robert Macbeth remained at home with them. She and Miss Georgina Ramsay have been most kind to the girls in their trouble. The former supporting them by her presence and sympathy—and the latter by her efficient aid, as a kind friend and most judicious Nurse in the last days of my poor sister's illness and at the close. George Reid was kind enough to put on the Bulletin board at the Newspaper Office, (it being Sunday no paper was published) an invitation to the Funeral—and at his insistence an invitation was read at St. Michaels, of which Church her daughters Eliza and Sarah are members. She was 65 years of age. The assemblage of persons was small as was to have been expected for a person, who had habitually lived a very retired life—and most of whose early frinds had already preceded her to the tomb.

From the Church Revd. Dr. Bachman and Miss Ramsay in a Carriage preceded the hearse which was followed by a hired carriage in which was Messrs. Geo. B. Reid and Robt. Macbeth, with her son Martin and myself. Her eldest and second sons, Berkley and Gouverneur followed in Berkley's buggy. We six were the Pall Bearers. The buggy was followed by a carriage in which were Mrs. Crafts, and Messrs. Richardson Miles and Frank Porcher. The funeral took place at 5 OClock in the afternoon.

5th Aug. [1863]—Martin recd. a Telegram from Mrs. Corbett at Camden, to the effect that she had engaged two rooms for the girls. He had telegraphed her to do so. This determines their going to Camden. Immediately on their Mother's death I had proposed to them to go with me to Spartanburg and live with us—but they had been there so recently with their Mother, they could not bear it—and besides they did not wish to go so far from their brothers who might be wounded or sick

and need their services. I sold yesterday six mattresses and a bundle of wool belonging to Heyward Manigault, to Moses Goldsmith & Sons, on Vendue Range and today deposited the nett amount—\$1412.75 cts in the Bank of the State—receiving from the Bank an acknowledgement to that effect. I have written to Manigault enclosing his bank Book—vouchers etc.

Received a letter from Meta enclosing one from her to Eliza—and from Elizabeth to Eliza.

6th.—I rec'd from Adams Run a day or two ago, a coil of Band Leather, which was found in the house of Mr. Manigault's Caesar after he had gone to the Yankees—it proved to be a portion of what was stolen from my mill some time ago—and which Robin tried to put upon Carroll—Robin was probably in collusion with Caesar in the theft. It weighed 22 1/2 lbs. and a shoe maker gave me \$80 for it this morning.

Mr. Bowman writes me that there are no more mattresses at the Grove. I left Eleven wool Mattresses there towards the end of last Novr. Since then I have taken eight away—three therefore have been stolen.

I this morning recd. a letter from Mrs. Butler, dated "Norwood 12th May 1863". She enclosed a check payable to my wife's order for \$2,000, and wishes Meta to send an order on Harry for the same amount. The check is drawn on the Bank of Charleston, where she thinks her funds are, but where, according to the statement of the President, they are not. They are he told Col. Morris in the Bank of the State. This is fatal to her proposition of exchange of checks, if there were no other objections.

Revd. Mr. Bowman came down from Adams Run today. The Col. much as he was. Mr. Bowman has sold my cattle—reserving one cow and one calf. The cattle sold consisted of 12 head—(5 milch cows—4 yearlings and 3 young calves)—at \$70 per head. They are to come down on the 11th.

8th.—Since Berkley has moved from the neighbourhood of the plantation, and can no longer get the butter, My nephew Gouvr. buys it for his Mess. He paid me in town the other day \$4.50—and today I recd. a letter from him enclosing \$6.75 cts more.

My son Berkley is at Battery Gregg his section of the Marion Artillery under command of Lieut. Murdoch having been ordered some to that part and some to Wagener—they will probably be relieved after five days service there. The weather excessively hot.

11th.—I gave Sarah \$20 today towards the housekeeping. On the 8th Aug. I sent a mattress to Sp[artanburg].

12th [August 1863].—Today I put a letter into the hands of Mr. Robert Macbeth, containing \$300. directed to my wife at Spartanburg.

I bought 4 bus: Salt, from J. Campsen at \$25 per bus:—the whole including a bbl and the drayage to R. R. amounts to \$104.50 cts—I paid him and he is to ship it to Sp[artanbur]g in a day or two.

I also bought from Dewees a Tierce of Rice—giving him \$14 per cwt—he is to ship it to Spg. today.

Berkley came up from Morris Isld. this Morning.

I also bought a few days ago—some sugar, Tea—meat cakes and etc. from N. M. Porter & Co.—which he is to ship in a box to Spg today.

13th.—The Cattle came down yesterday—only (10) ten head—two, a yearling bull and a calf being left at Revd. Mr. Seabrooks place—having gotten away from the drivers. The ten—at \$70 per head, gave \$700—(from which deduct as commission to Mr. Bowman 5 per cent—on the sale—and 2 1/2 per cent was Tax \$700

he was satisfied with 7. per cent on the sale) \$49.

also deduct. 25 cts for each for toll at Rantowles &

| | | |
|---------------|------|-------|
| Wallace | 2.50 | 51.50 |
|---------------|------|-------|

nett amount rec[eive]d by me \$648.50

The remaining two will be caught and sold.

14.—Returned to Mr. Hutchinson for Confederate Tax—\$535—on deposite and \$300 in hand on the 1st July.

Campsen says he shipped the Salt yesterday. Dewees also sent the Rice on the 12th.

15th. [August 1863].—I wrote a reply to Mrs. Butler on the 13th. declining her proposal. In it I stated that her funds were not, as she supposed, in the Bank of Charleston, and that I would make enquiries, and endeavour to let her know where they were. I told her that the check she gave me at Richmond for \$100, to repay me for money loaned to her, was from the above fact not paid, and was still in my possession—and that the one for \$2000, which she had enclosed in her letter of the 12th. May, on the Bank of Charleston, being of course of no value, I would not send back to her, but preserve until I saw her. I did not seal my letter till today after I had been informed by Mr. Sass that her funds

had been transferred by Col. Morris's direction, to the "Branch Bank of the State of South Carolina at Columbia, S. C." and that her balance was \$4300. I informed her of the place of Deposite but not of the balance.

17th.—Very heavy and frequent firing commenced about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. It seems like a regular bombardment—and fight between our forts and the enemies.

I gave Dr. Bachman, whom I met in the Bank of Charleston, \$30—for the benefit of our sick and wounded soldiers in the Military Dist. I also sent, in a letter to Jas. S. Gibbes Treas[urer] \$25 toward "the Soldiers Wayside Home"—I sent it by Sam, and saw him give it to Gibbes.

18th.—The attack upon Sumter and our Batteries resumed this morning. I have not been able to hear anything of William—who is either in the Fort or on Morris Isl.

I collected today for the girls a check of Wilkins & Barnwell on the Bank of Charleston for \$1000.00. It was drawn payable to M. L. Wilkins or order. Martin endorsed it, and sent it to his sisters for whom Berkley intended it. I drew the [amount] in ten bills of \$100 each—and gave them to Sarah a few minutes ago.

19th.—I left town this morning with my nieces and arrived at Camden towards 6 OClock.

20th.—I this morning deposited in The Branch Bank of the State at Camden to the credit of Sarah G. Wilkins (\$1600) sixteen hundred dollars—which she had given me for that purpose. She will draw upon this as their occasions require.

22d.—Arrived at Spartanburg today having left Camden on Friday (Yesterday morning) passed the balance of that day and the next at Columbia. Found the family well.

23d.—Recd. two letters from William in Fort Sumter—poor fellow we are exceedingly anxious about him. It seems to be understood by all that the fort, which is now a ruin, cant be held.

25th.—Today I paid my freight for the Articles which I had sent from town—and also the freight for the things sent by Mr. Manigault. He had remitted an interest bearing note for \$100 for this purpose.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| This with the Int amounted to | \$106.45 |
| Deduct the bill for freight | 43.90 |
| | |
| Bal[ance] due Mr. M[anigault] | \$ 62.46 |
| Deduct for carting at Spartg. | 1.00 |
| | |
| Due Mr. M. | \$ 61.46 |

28th.—There is to be a Confirmation at the Episcopal place of worship—(the Court House) on Sunday next in this village and having made up my mind to join the Church to which my wife and daughters are attached and of which they are communing members, I called today upon the Revd. Mr. McCulloch, who habitually officiates here, and made known to him my wish. He expressed himself pleased that I had so determined—and said that I had but to present myself for confirmation by the Bishop on Sunday next, I pray God that I may not be permitted to do this thing in an unfitting state of mind—and that He will increase my faith. I have delayed this very long and have many misgivings but trust that I may be enabled to live according to the profession I am about to make and that God will strengthen me. I have until a year or more ago been an attendant and Trustee of the Presbyterian Church, when in the Country, and of the Circular Congregational Church, when in Charleston—but not a member of either. Being accustomed to that form of worship, I would have perhaps preferred to join the Presbyterian Church were it not that in that case I would have separated myself from my wife and daughters, who are members of the Episcopal Church and are devotedly attached to its form, or caused unhappiness in the family by insisting upon their leaving their Church. I believe that the one is just as much a true church as the other. The difference being for the most part in the form of worship, and principles of Government. The essential points of Faith are the same.

29th.—I sent this morning by Harry to Mr. White \$48.75 cts—the price of 15 bushels of Corn—ten of which he let Mrs. Grimball have when I was in town—and the balance I got from him a day or two ago. Mr. White has been very obliging in this matter—letting us have a portion of the corn he had purchased for himself.

30th.—I this day became a member of the Episcopal Church.

31st.—(Monday)—I yesterday took upon myself a Membership in the Church of Christ—and may God enable me to fulfill my obligations. I feel that of myself I can do nothing. Bishop Davis performed the rite

of confirmation—and Revd. Messrs McCulloch and Walker administered the Communion.

1 September 1863.—I have in hand at this date for current and contingent expenses, in Confederate bills—

| | |
|---|--------|
| Confed. Bills | \$1715 |
| Bank Bills | 28 |
| Confed. Bills also on deposit in So. W. R. R. | |
| [Bank] | 500 |
| | _____ |
| | \$2243 |

2d.—Paid Mr. Irwin the rent for the next two months ending 1st. Novr.

3d.—Paid to Mr. Elford \$25 for Pew rent, in advance.

7th.—Today I sent a letter which I had written on the 4th to Mr. W. Y. Leitch, Confed: Sub Treasurer—giving him the date and amount of the receipt they gave me some time ago for the money I invested in 8 per cent Bonds for delivery. Mr. Leitch published a call to this effect in the Courier of the past month.

26th.—I am informed by the Sub. Treasurer, that the bonds to take the place of the receipts, are now ready at Columbia.

1st. Oct: 1863.—I have in hand at this date for Current and Contingent Expenses—

| | |
|---|--------|
| Confederate Bills | \$1405 |
| Bank " | 28 |
| On deposit in So. W. R. Road Bank | 500 |
| | _____ |
| | \$1933 |

2d.—Wrote to Mr. Bowman, and to B.G.W.

3d.—My wife recd. this morning a letter from her sister Mrs. Manigault, dated 30th. Sept: and announcing the death on that day of their Father Col. Lewis Morris. Tho his state for some weeks has been such as to prepare us for this, we are all, Meta especially, greatly distressed. It is a terrible shock when those whom we have known intimately all our lives, are taken from us forever. He died at Adams Run, at the house of the Rev: Mr. Bowman, where he has boarded since early in May last—and was about 78 years of age. He was an exceedingly religious man, and found great comfort in his faith throughout his illness

and at the last. Mrs. Manigault was with him constantly—and within a few days of his death, my son Lewis (his grandson) who is an Asst Surg: in the Provisional Army, was also with him. The troubles of the times, doubtless hastened his death—for he had attained an unusual length of days, his strength of constitution sustained by great regularity and temperance, would in all probability under ordinary circumstances have extended the duration for several years. He died, not only resigned to death, but wishing to die; and with an unwavering assurance of happiness in Heaven.

Wrote to Mrs. Butler, addressing it under cover as she directed. I enclosed to my son William to give to Mr. Monceda. It did not contain a single word on the war—or public matters—or that could at all be objected to, if scrutinized—but related to an offer of a mutual exchange, which she thought would be of accommodation to us. I also mentioned her Father's death. This is all the letter.

I rec[eive]d yesterday a letter from my son Arthur, enclosing one from John which he found at Robertson, Blacklock & Co.'s Office. John's letter was dated "Paris 14th. Aug." It is very short—says that he had passed a fortnight in London, and had then gone to France—where he had been two weeks when he wrote. I wrote to John enclosing to Arthur.

4th.—A letter from Lewis, who is at Adams Run in temporary charge of the Hospital there. I am glad he was there a few days before his Grand Father's death, for he probably was able to alleviate his sufferings in some degree.

6th.—A letter from Mr. Heyward Manigault asks my opinion as the best disposition to be made of the Col.'s serv[an]t Charles for the present. I advise that he be sent to the Col's Son Richard—in Georgia.

9th.—Wrote to Manigault—suggesting to him to get Mr. Bowman, to make an Affidavit as to Col. Morris's Negroes who went to the Yankees on the 10th. July last.

10th.—A letter from Mr. Bowman—"7th Octr. 1863. The six missing cattle have been recovered—five of them are Col. Morris's, so you see I sold eleven of yours in town—consequently I must take \$100 from the funds I hold of the Col.'s and pay it to you. I am now killing his five and will kill yours on Friday with the lot—keep the weights separately and when the Company pays to me it will all be subject to your order." etc. etc. He says they will make at the Grove 200 bus[hels of] corn.

10th.—A letter from William—had recd. mine to Mr. DePelested which enclosed one for Mrs. Butler—went in pursuit of the Spanish Consul—did not find him—and when he got back to the Fort, found that he had lost the letter. There never was anything more provoking.

12th.—Wrote to Mr. Jas. Mitchell.

16th.—A reply from Mr. Mitchell.

17th.—Wrote to William about the furniture and to Mr. Leitch about the Bonds. I enclosed to William a check on So. W. R. R. B[ank] for \$100.

18th.—Wrote again to William—and also to Berkley enclosing in the latter letter one to Martin in which I advised him to move his furniture from Lamboll Street.

21st.—Wrote to Lewis.

25th.—Wrote to Mr. H. H. Manigault informing him that I did not intend to qualify as an Ex[ecut]or of Col. Morris's will.

My son William moved with his company from Fort Ripley to Battery Ramsay in Charleston on the 19th. In the absence of Capt. Macbeth W. is Lieut. commanding. Heard from John.

29th.—Elizabeth wrote to Mrs. Butler by Mrs. Grace Stevens, who leaves for Washington tomorrow morning. E- informed her that I had directed her (E) to say that I was obliged by the proposal in hers of May last, but thought it inexpedient to avail myself of it. That I would keep the check until I saw her. That the check was drawn upon the wrong Bank—and therefore could be of no use—that her funds were in the Branch Bank of the State of So. Ca. at Columbia. Wrote about this time to John, enclosing to William.

30th.—A letter from Mr. Bowman last night. He has in cash for me \$169.25 cts, on account of cattle sold. I wrote to Lewis two days ago. Recd. a letter from William—enclosing Mayor's Permit.

31st. Octr. 1863.—My funds at this time are

| | |
|--|--------|
| In Confederate bills | \$1240 |
| " Bank " | 28 |
| " Confed: bills on deposit in Bnk. | 400 |
| | _____ |
| | \$1668 |
| I had on 1st. Sept. | \$2243 |
| —at this date | 1668 |
| | _____ |
| Expended in 2 months | \$ 575 |

12th. Novr. [1863]—Recd. a letter from John—still at Rouen in France—had recd. mine informing him of his Aunt's death.

15th.—Wrote to Williams authorizing him to take for his own use the \$100 for which I had given him a [check] in connection with the removal of the furniture.

17th.—Wrote to Dr. R. W. Gibbes—Editor of “the South Carolinian” published at Columbia—enclosing \$10 and ordering the Daily for the next six months.

Everything is very dear—Corn, when it can be bought, costs \$3.50 per bushel. Wheat flour \$20 or more per 100 lbs—or half of a Bbl. Bacon —hard to get—\$2.50 cts per lb. I bought a flitch or side the other day and paid for it \$82.50 cts—it weighed 33 lbs. Salt 70cts per lb. Beef alone is not very high—50 cts per lb on an average of parts, choice 60 cts. I bought on Monday 4 small Turkeys for \$15—not quite \$4 each. Turkeys of the large and best kind cost \$5 or \$6 each.

20th. [November, 1863]—Mr. Irwin's school broke up today—to recommence probably in Jany.

24th.—I gave today (\$50) fifty dollars to Elizabeth, in part payment of the interest that will be due to her on my bond, on the first of the ensuing January.

26th.—Elizabeth went today in company with Miss Mary Legg to Unionville on a visit of a few days to Mrs. Dawkins.

Recd. letters this evening from my son William—and Mrs. H. H. Manigault—from the latter to Mrs. Grimball. Mrs. Manigault says that the Carriage and horses belonging to the Cols Est were sold

| | |
|---|--------|
| for | \$1815 |
| The other things, such as Boilers, Carts, Sulky came to (of this \$600 not yet collected) | 4012 |
| Mr. Bowman paid for Cattle sold | 3061 |

\$8885[sic]

The sum of \$4012 is so large I am strongly inclined to think that Mrs. M's mistaken in making the \$1815 a separate item—it is probably included in the \$4012—and in that case the whole result of the sales would be \$7070

28th. Novr.—I recd. a letter from Mrs. Butler a few days ago, asking me to give her some particulars of her Father's death, of which

she had heard a report. I answered her letter today, under cover to Genl: Winder at Richmond.

1st Decr. [1863]—I last evening recd. a letter from my friend Perronneau Finley, informing me that I and he had been appointed by the late Mrs. Clelia Wilkes, Executors of her Will and that she had left to me a legacy of \$1,000. Finley will qualify and wishes me to do so likewise. I replied today, declining to do so on account of my health, my distance from the Estate, which consists of lands and Negroes, and also on account of my having but recently declined to act as Exor of Col. Morris's will. The legacy was evidently to pay me for the \$1200 or thereabouts, which were due me by her husband, after all his property had been used to pay his debts. The \$1000 with the percentage of the Executorship, she intended as payment for him—besides the mark of her confidence and esteem for me. I am very sensible of her conduct in this matter—and would certainly serve if I saw that I could.

1st. Decr.—My funds at this time are as follows—

| | |
|--|--------|
| In Confed. Bills | \$805 |
| Bank Bills | 28 |
| Confed. Bills on Deposit in S.W.R.R. | \$ 400 |
| | — |
| | \$1233 |

7th. Decr.—My wife having a severe cold and some fever—I sent for Dr. Kennedy.

9th.—Meta is still sick—and keeps her bed. I recd. by the last mail a letter from Mr. Z. B. Oakes, a Broker of Charleston, asking if I would sell "the Grove". I replied that at this moment I had no such purpose. If I should wish to do so, I could let him know.

10th.—Fast day. Heard Revd. Pickens Smith—and afterwards went with Mr. Elford to his office (Elford's) and gave to him (\$100) one hundred dollars as my contribution towards the completion of the Episcopal Church in this place (Spartanburg). Revd. Mr. McCulloch made a call upon the Congregation last Sunday.

Meta is better and the Dr. took his leave this morning.

11th.—A letter from John last evening dated Rouen—28th. Oct.—I wrote to him today, enclosing to William to be put in Trenholm & Co.'s bag. Wrote also to William. On the 9th. Elizabeth and Ella took their first lesson in German from Dr. Faber.

13th.—Sunday—William arrived here today—his Mother has not seen him for more than 18 months—he has a furlough for 15 days.

26th.—William left us today—we have enjoyed his visit very much and regret to part with him.

30th.—My funds at this date are as follows:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Confed: Notes | \$413 |
| Bank Bills | 28 |
| Confed bills on deposit in So. W. R. R. Bank .. | 400 |
| | _____ |
| | \$841 |

I go to town tomorrow and have given to my wife to keep till my return

\$300

5th. Jany 1864—Left Spartanburg C. H. for Charleston.

6th.—Arrived at Adams Run—and stopped at Mr. Bowmans house.

9th.—Paid Mr. Bowman yesterday \$100—for attending to my property at the Grove—and recd. \$69 from him for the Cow he sold. Came to town today and put up at Mrs. Finney's—No. 8 Montague Street.

10th.—Saw William who goes this evening to Fort Sumter.

11th.—Exchanged my Receipts for Certificates and Bonds—and drew the interest for myself and Elizabeth—amounting in all including John's and Ella's to \$1901.50 cts. As Mr. Bowman would take no pay for entertaining me, I sent by him to Mrs. Bowman 1 1/2 lbs Java Coffee—\$21.

Bought for my use 25 lbs Sugar (brown)—\$100—(\$4 per lb).

I deposited with Mr. Alex Robertson today \$600—to the credit of Col. Morris's Estate. Capt. Rutledge of the Navy was present. Manguault gave me the money for this purpose.

12th.—I exchanged the Receipts given me by Mr. White for Certificates of Confed. Stock and drew the interest on these for which I had his order, and Mrs. Drayton's

I bought a Bbl of Rice for which I paid Renecker & Glover \$191. They are to ship it by the rail Road to Spartanburg. I paid my Confed. Income Tax to Hutchinson (400.60 cts) giving a check on So. W. R. R. Bank for the \$400 and the balance 60 cts. I paid him in money.

He taxed me on the money I recd. from the sale of my mattresses, against which I protested, and wrote an appeal to the State Collector which he Hutchinson engages to forward to him.

15th.—Returned to Spartanburg, quite ill with a severe cold.

16th.—Wrote to Hutchinson. Called in Dr. Kennedy.

21st.—Have been quite sick—confined to my bed.

27th.—I last Evening recd. a letter from Mr. Hutchinson enclosing a portion of a letter from J. D. Pope, State Collector, who is unable to decide upon my appeal and has referred the matter to Richmond. Mr. H. also sends me a new Return for me to sign—a mistake it seems in the old one. I ought to pay \$475.60 instead of \$400.60. (I have already paid the \$400.60). I have signed the new Return and will send it to him by the next mail. According to this I shall owe \$75 more than I have paid—unless my appeal gets me off of some of it.

28th.—Dispatched my letter to Mr. Hutchinson last Evening.

When in town I received the following "Certificates" for my "Receipts"—

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| \$10,000 J. Berkley Grimbll. Recd. 21st. March 1863. Act of Cong. Feby. 1863 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| \$10,000 " | " | " | " | 23d. | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| \$ 6,000 " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| \$ 4,000 " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |

I have also

| \$ 1,900 | " | " | 25th. Nov. 1861 | " | " | " | 19th Aug |
|--|---|---|-----------------|---|---|---|----------|
| also the following Bonds—8 per cent | | | | | | | |
| \$ 1,000 No. 24550—Act of Cong: 20th. Feb. 1863—signed | " | " | 2d. March 1863 | " | " | " | " |
| 1,000 " 24556 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| 1,000 " 24551 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| 1,000 " 24554 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| 1,000 " 24555 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| 1,000 " 24099 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| 1,000 " 24552 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| 1,000 " 24553 | " | " | " | " | " | " | " |

30th. Jany.—Paid Mr. Irwin \$120—the rent for this month, Feby. and March.

1st. Feby: 1864.—Harry began his term today at Mr. Irwin's School.

9th.—The Rev. Mr. Kirkland has in a recent visit to Barnwell Dist. very kindly purchased for me 100 bus: Corn at \$4 per bus. By an arrangement with Pringle in town—the Chief Quartermaster or Commissary, I dont know which, the corn is delivered here, on the same quantity being delivered to the Government below. The quantity costs \$400. I

had given Mr. Kirkland \$300 on his departure—and today I gave him \$100 more and he gave me a receipt for \$400. Reciprocating Mr. Irwin's friendly spirit, I shall let him have 20 bus: of this corn at the price I paid for it.

11th.—Brought the corn home. Mr. Kirkland kindly loaned me his one horse wagon and I availed myself of a chance opportunity of sending 41½ bus: to the house. I delivered to Mr. Irwin the 20 bus: and received from him in acknowledgment a Receipt for two months rent ending 1st. June next.

12th.—Began to use the Corn today.

15th.—A letter from my friend Finley—to say to me there is a house on the edge of the Corporate limits of Aiken with about 30 acres attached—a nice place which he thinks would suit me—and which will probably be sold in 2 or 3 months. It is part of the Est. of the late Dr. Anderson.

19th.—This morning Josey did not appear to wait at breakfast—had not been seen since last evening before bed time. I thought he had absconded, but not long after breakfast a man rode to the door and informed me that he being in pursuit of another negro had found a man who proved to be my servant at the house of two white women of bad repute. This was about day break. He had arrested him and he was now in jail. I called at the jail in the course of the morning—and directed the Deputy Sheriff to keep [him] in solitary confinement.

26th.—Last evening's mail brought me letters from our son John—one to his Mother and one to me—the last date was 6th. Jany. from Lyons in France. He tells us that he has sent a Trunk of things for his Mother and sisters by one of Trenholm's steamers, "the Hope" and today I wrote to R. B. & Co. to whose care they were consigned about them. I wrote also on the subject to Geo. Reid—and to my nephew Gouveneur Wilkins, who is with his Company at Accabee.

27th.—Berkley arrived this Evening on a sick Furlough. He has had a carbuncle on his back and this is nearly well but he has sores on his legs.

28th.—Sent for Dr. Kennedy to prescribe for Berkley. He says it will be a long case.

3d. March [1864]—Berkley wrote to Capt. Parker asking an extension of furlough for 15 days, and enclosed a certificate from Dr. Kennedy as to its necessity.

5th. March—I this day paid \$50—to my daughter Elizabeth—interest on my bond. I now owe her for interest due 1st. Jany. 1864—\$250.

14th. March—Monday—Left Spartanburg for Aiken to visit my friend Peronneau Finley and to look out for a house or farm there.

15th.—Passed the night at Columbia at Congaree House—for supper and bed my bill was \$10—left this morning at 4½ OClock by the Charleston train. Arrived at Aiken about ½ past 3—Peronneau awaiting me at the Depot.

16th.—Drove out to see a house with 30 acres of land belonging to the Est of the late Dr. Anderson—on the Edgefield road. The house is a one story building which has been added to (two rooms in front) the interior unfinished—insufficient accommodations for our Servts—outhouses poor—Land very steril—but good it is said for Peaches—Rather too far for social enjoyment in the town—dont think my wife and daughters would like it. This is the only place Peronneau knows of which is for sale. This will be sold at public sale before long—time not appointed yet—a place which was formerly occupied by Major Angus Patterson in the same section of country may P[eronneau] thinks be for sale before long—but that is also rather far and the land very poor. Judge Magrath owns the place next to it.

My son Berkley left Sp[artanburg] with me for Camp on the 14th.

18th.—Peronneau went to Williston yesterday to return his State Taxes.

Last night, Miss Dawson, two Misses Ford and their brother took tea here. Before it was handed in Col. Boston Clarkson, his wife and a daughter arrived very unexpectedly. They had been to Augusta and were on their return home. They staid here last night. They are relatives of Mrs. Finley.

This morning before I was up Peronneau came into my chamber and said that Col. Clarkson, being afraid of falling short of funds on the road desired to borrow some money from him, that unfortunately he had none by him—and requested me to lend him some if I could. I gave him \$50 for that purpose. The Clarksons left about 7 this morning. Dr. Craft sent an invitation to dinner at his place 6 miles out, for May 17th., but Peronneau had gone to Williston—of course we could not go. This I omitted to mention under the proper date.

Peronneau has returned this money to me.

19th.—Walked out to a place, about a mile off, belonging to Dr. Laborde of Columbia—it has been lately occupied by Mrs. Weaver—a

two story house—new—unpainted—no outbuildings, perhaps one—10 acres of land—like all the land in upper Aiken, high and sandy. This house is leased for a year but may perhaps be bought after that time. The land in lower Aiken is more level and productive, and suits my family better—but I am not sure that it is as good a climate as that of upper Aiken—the air in the higher and more broken country of the latter seems to me purer. Jenkins Mikell has hired a large house and farm in lower Aiken, and not far from him is Dr. or Mr. Fuller, a baptist clergyman. I like this last place very much. The Mikells is more desirable—as this house is more commodious—and the surroundings tasteful.

22. *Tuesday*—Weather cold—ice formed and the Peach trees thought to be much injured in their promise of fruit.

23 [March, 1864]—It rained—sleeted and snowed yesterday—the Peach crop supposed to be lost beyond hope.

Peronneau returned to me the money he had borrowed to lend Mr. Clarkson.

24th.—Left Aiken this morning much gratified by the kind and hospitable manner in which I have been treated by my friend and his family. Passed the night at Columbia (Congaree House) my supper and bed cost me \$15—the charge per day is \$30—fare miserable.

25th.—Arrived at Spartanburg before Sundown—and found the family well.

28th.—Bought 5 lbs butter at \$4 per lb—also Eggs—and engaged $\frac{1}{2}$ bus: Cow Peas at \$10 per bus:

29th.—Took from Oliphant a bus: instead of a $\frac{1}{2}$ bus: Peas—for which I paid him \$10—and \$4 for $\frac{1}{2}$ bus. Irish Potatoes which I bought from him yesterday—making in all \$14. which I paid to him in the presence of Revd. Pickens Smith.

My son Lewis (Dr. Grimball) arrived yesterday from Johnstone's Army—near Dalton—we now have the happiness of a visit from two of our sons—Lewis and William.

April 1st. 1864—My current funds now in had amounts to

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| —in fives | \$ 30 |
| Old issue in tens | 440 |
| Bank bills | 28 |
| | — |
| | \$498 |

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6th. April—Wrote to John—enclosing to Major Vanderhorst at Wilmington.

7th.—Wrote to R. B. & Co. and to Rev. P.G.B.

9th.—My son William left us this morning to rejoin his Regt.

12th.—My son Lewis, Asst: Surg: in Finley's Brigade Bate's Division, Army of Tennessee, left us for the Army this morning.

I recd. by mail yesterday a letter from my friend Finley Exor of Mrs. Wilkes's Will, enclosing a Certificate of 4 per cent Bond (Confederate) for \$1000—in full payment of a legacy left to me by Mrs. Wilkes. I sent a Receipt for it today to him.

15th.—A letter from Robertson, Blacklock & Co.—dated 11th. April. They have on their books to my credit \$65.16/100 old currency—which amounts in the new to \$43.44 cts. Also a letter from my son William, who is at Fort Ripley in the harbour—our house in Meeting Street has again been entered by Robbers. Meta's wardrobe broken open—and the contents taken—as were three or four old chairs—also a letter from Rev. Mr. Bowman—intended to imply by his silence on a certain occasion, that he was willing to see to my interest in St. Pauls without compensation—this of course cant be.

19th.—Bought 3 lbs butter from Mr. Peter Smith—for which I owe him \$12. Paid 26th. April, 1864.

25th. April—1864—Josey left for the Coast this morning to work on the Public Defences. The agent Mr. Bunch went with him and others.

27th.—I wrote to R. B. & Co. requesting them to let Mr. Kops draw on them for what money may be necessary to pay the expenses at Wilmington on the box John has sent. I wrote also to William enclosing a letter for John which his [mother?] had written to be sent to Europe.

28th.—Mrs. Junius Thompson's residence was destroyed by fire this morning between 11 and 12 OClock—the fire seems to have originated, nobody knows how, in one of the upper rooms—all the things on that floor burnt up—the furniture below saved. There was but one old black woman on the premises when the fire broke out—no one in the house—the family having gone after breakfast to the village. I wrote to William today.

1st. May [1864]—I wrote to William today—authorizing him to say to Mr. Heyward (Broker) that I would take \$50,000 for Pinebury if he could get it.

2d May 1864—My money in hand at this date for house and personal expenses consist of

| | |
|--|-------|
| In Confed: Notes (old currency) | \$210 |
| In Bank bills | 28 |
| \$210 in old Cur: is equal in the new to | \$140 |
| Bank bills | 28 |
| | — |
| | 168 |
| The Donkey harness was sold at auction today for | \$64 |
| Paid the crier | 1 |
| | — |
| Due Ella and Lottie | 63 |

. Wrote to Mr. T. Savage Heyward, Broker, authorising him to sell my Pinebury plantation if he can get \$50,000.

A letter from Mr. Heyward Manigault—he has sold my sorrel horse for \$900.

5th. May—Today Mr. Cobia obliged me by receiving from me \$37.50/100—and giving me an order for that sum on his house in Wilmington. This order Meta enclosed in a letter to Major Arnoldus Vanderhorst, to repay him for the freight and Express charge of John's box from Wilmington to Columbia.

10th. May—The Church of the Advent in this village was consecrated this morning. The Bishop and several of his clergy officiated. The Rev. John H. Elliott arrived and stays with us.

11th.—The Diocesan Convention met today at 10 OClock in the Church of the Advent.

13th.—The Council having transacted its business adjourned last night. And Mr. Elliott left us this morning for Camden, where his Father now is. His visit was an exceedingly agreeable one to us—and I trust his time with us did not pass without enjoyment by him.

Last Evening, Adam whom I had sent to Columbia for the purpose, returned with the box which John had sent to us from Europe. The box had been sent by Express from Wilmington to Columbia.

18th.—Wrote to Mr. T. Savage Heyward that I am willing to take 4 per cent bonds at from 60 to 65 per cent—[which] as he stated in his letter—was the present rate.

Wrote to F. G. DeFontaine & Co. Editors of "the South Carolinian" newspaper at Columbia—enclosing \$10 in old currency—and requesting

them to send me the Paper for the next two months. My subscription to the Daily South Carolinian will expire on the 5th Aug. 1864.

The war is arrived at a very critical point and we are in the greatest anxiety, both in regard to Lee's Army in Virginia, and Johnston's in Northern Georgia. Lewis is with the latter—William when last heard from at Fort Sumter—Berkley on John's Isld. with the "Marions". And Arthur on duty [with the] Signal Corps, at Head Quarters—Dr. Townsend's place on John's Isld.—John in France.

25th.—Last Evening I mailed a letter to Mr. Heyward Manigault—containing a Tax Return of my lands and other property in St. Pauls Parish. He has kindly offered to make the Return for me. I wrote also to Mr. Bowman and to my son William who is now on James Isld.

31—Wrote to John. Heard from Manigault—the enemy have shelled the Grove.

1st. June 1864—My money in hand at this date for house and Personal Expenses—

| | |
|----------------------------------|------|
| In Confed: notes old issue | \$90 |
| Bank Bills | 28 |
| old issue are equal to \$60 | |

5th.—Wrote to Alexander Robertson on the occasion of the death of his only son, lately killed in Virginia, also to Jas. D. Mitchell—Sub Treasury Office—also to my son Lewis in the Army of Tennessee.

7th.—Recd. a letter from William, enclosing four ten dollar bills—old issue—two tens, new issue—and a 2 dollar bill—this money belonged to me.

15th.—Wrote to John—enclosing to John Fraser & Co.

22d.—Josey returned today from working on the defences at Charleston.

24th.—Borrowed from Mr. Oliphant (\$200) for which I gave him my note payable in thirty days from this date with interest. I paid him at the same time for the bacon and butter lately bought—of the above money (\$300 in old issue) I gave Meta \$150 (old issue) to keep house till my return from town and as long as it will last.

| | |
|---|---------|
| <i>27th.</i> —Bought 13½ lbs bacon (sides) from Mr. Peter Smith at \$4.50 cts per lb | \$60.75 |
| 25 lbs Flour at 50 cts per lb | \$12.50 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$73.25 |

For which I paid him before I took the things away—in old issue \$109.87%—what remains of the \$300—again divided gives Meta \$90—and me the like sum.

29th.—Left Spartanburg for Charleston. Stop at the Congaree at Columbia—there met Genl. [James] Chesnut who told me the Yankees had made a raid on Morganton in No. Ca.—about 70 miles from Spartanburg—that he dispatched orders which he thought [would] cause a sufficient force to oppose them immediately. This makes me very uneasy and if my affairs were not so urgent, I would return to Spart[anburl]. As it is I must go on, and trust to the arrangements made and to an Overruling Providence. Wrote to Meta.

30th.—Arrived in Charleston at 5 OClock afternoon—having left Col[umbia] at 4 A.M. Drove to Gov. Aikens—Coach charge \$5—found Mr. and Mrs. Aiken at home—welcomed me very pleasantly—and shortly left to attend Hugh Rose's funeral. Mrs. Singleton and her daughter and Miss Lowndes are staying here.

1st. July [1864]—After breakfast called at the Post office and recd. the permit to go to Adams Run which William had obtained for me. Then went to John Fraser & Co. and put two letters in their charge to be forwarded to John. Then went to the Bank of So. Ca. and received from Mr. Breese a certificate for a 4 per cent Confederate obligation for \$900. My friend Geo. Reid had at my request invested the money he recd. through Mr. Barnwell that way. I then went to the Sub Treasury and to my very great disappointment find that they are not prepared to pay the interest on their bonds. Being obliged to have money I sold a Confed: 8 per cent Bond at \$90 for \$100, the Bond was for \$1000. I therefore received—\$900. Then went to the Confed. Tax Office and find that they are not ready to receive the Tax Money—and will not be for some time. I then returned to the Bank of S. C. and placed the following Confederate securities, to wit

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| 1 Registered Bond for | \$1,000 |
| 1 Coupon Bond for | 1,000 |
| 1 Other " " for | 1,000 |
| 1 4 per cent Bond for | 1,000 |
| 1 4 per cent Bond for | 900 |
| | _____ |
| | \$5,800 |

in a brown paper, stout envelope, closed it with wafers, and delivered the Package to Mr. Breese Cashier, who very obligingly placed it in his

iron safe for safe keeping—the package is marked Confederate Stocks and Bonds belonging to J. Berkley Grimball.

2d. July—Went to Adams Run. Berkley met me at the Rantowles Station and decided to ride to the Adams Run Station—returning with the down train. He is quite well—saw Martin. At Adams Run I staid with Mr. Heyward Manigault—they were, he and Charlotte, very hospitable and pleasant.

3d. July—Sunday—This morning before day an alarm that the enemy had landed at White Point—great excitement all day. In the afternoon I rode to the Grove. The poor old women there sick and despondent.

4th. July—The enemy are no longer to be seen.

I came to town. Saw Arthur in the afternoon. Dined together at Kroeg's.

5th. Recd. my interest on the Coupon Bonds—amounting

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| to | \$320 |
| also the int. for John E. | \$14 |
| " Gabriella | 4. |
| " Elizabeth | 17.50 |
| | 35.50 |
| | _____ |
| | \$355.50 |

They are not yet ready to pay the interest on the Regis[tered] Bonds.

6th.—Left Charleston this morning at 6 OClock. Mr. Charles Lowndes requested me to take charge of his daughter Sabina, as far as Alston, at which point I would leave the road—and then to place her under the care of any family going to Greenville, or if there should be no family of my acquaintance, of the Conductor.

7th.—On arriving at Columbia, I accompanied the young lady to her Uncles rooms at the Seminary—where she passed the night—and the next morning I called for her and took her to the Greenville train—when we arrived at Alston I introduced the Conductor (Mr. Isaacks) to her—and received his assurance that he would see that she made her journey without annoyance. She goes to her Grandmother Mrs. Judge Huger, who will have a carriage to meet her at the Greenville Depot. She is a perfectly well bred and intelligent young lady. I reached Spartanburg before Sundown—all the family well.

8th.—I this morning delivered to Mr. Irwin the two lbs of Hyson Tea, which he had requested me to purchase for him at the Bee Store in Charleston. The two pounds cost \$50. I had advanced the money, and he gave me a receipt for Harry's term bill, now due—and which amounted to the same sum. I also paid Mr. Irwin \$120 for three months rent of this house—ending on the 1st. day of September next. When in town I paid my subscription to the triweekly "Mercury"—and up to 1st. Oct. '64.

9th.—I paid Mr. Oliphant the \$200 which he had loaned me and received from him my Note. He refused any interest. I also paid \$25 to Mr. Elford for Mr. McCullough, the Rector of the Church.

I placed Harry's shoes at Mr. Olyphants store—to be exchanged for a pair that will fit him—also my slippers, for sale—too large for me.

10th.—Wrote to William and Lewis. Meta wrote to Berkley.

11th.—Josey and Adam are working today on the Streets in obedience to a call of the town Council. Mr. Irwin sends a hand as also does Mr. Carson. Mr. Irwin oversees.

12th.—Josey and Adam again on the Street. Mr. Carson oversees. Mr. Irwin went to Greenville this morning.

13th.—Josey tells me that Mr. Irwin's Peter, went to Mr. Carson this morning about the work and was told that he might go to work if he choose, that he Mr. C. would not see after them today—nor send his hand—under these circumstances—I have not sent Josey and Adam.

Bought 14 lbs Flour \$7.

Wrote to William about some socs sent by Mrs. Fludd who went to town yesterday.

14th.—Wrote to John—as also did his Mother—the letters enclosed to John Fraser & Co. I wrote also to Lewis.

15th. [July, 1864]—Wrote to Berkley.

16th.—Wrote to William.

18th.—Wrote to Alexr. H. Mazyck, Librarian, enclosing \$15 (a ten dollar bill new issue No. 16181—and a five, new issue—No. 35441) in payment of my dues to 1st. July 1864.

(*To be continued*)

REGISTERS OF SHELDON CHURCH, PRINCE WILLIAM'S
PARISH, 1826-1947

Compiled by MARIE deTREVILLE and WILLIAM L. GLOVER

(Continued from October)

BAPTISMS

Abigail Mary. Dau. of Edw. R. and Martha Ann Mackay, b. Sept. 18, 1859. Baptised April 19, 1860. Sponsors: Geo. C. and Abigail M. Mackay. By Rev. Edw. Reed. At Mr. Mackay's.

Francis Marion. Sn of J. E. M. and Elizabeth Mitchell, b. Nov. 1, 1859. Baptised May 5, 1860. Sponsors: Parents. By Do. At Jno. W. Gregorie's.

Benjamin Wyman. Sn of Charles F. and Anne L. Davis, b. Sept. 5, 1860. Baptised April 17, 1861. Sponsors: Mother and Micah Jenkins. By Do. At Mr. M. Jenkins'.

James Gregorie. Sn of William W. and Eliz. M. Elliott, b. Sept. 28, 1855. Baptised May 14, 1861. Sponsors: Mr. and Mrs. James Gregorie and T. O. Barnwell. By Do. At W. W. Elliott's.

Mary Bowen. Dau. of Do., b. Dec. 14, 1856. Baptised May 14, 1861. Sponsors: Mr. and Mrs. George Elliott and Mrs. T. O. Barnwell. By Do. At W. W. Elliott's.

Elizabeth Richmond. Dau. of Roger and Adele Pinckney, b. July 20th 1874. Baptised Sep. 6, 1874. Sponsors: Mrs. Dr. H. Pinckney, Miss C. A. Lartigue, and Mr. J. M. Gregorie. By Rev. E. E. Bellinger at Dr. W. Fuller's.

Mary Louise. Dau. of John White and Sarah Elise Gregorie, b. 19th Aug. [18]64. Baptised Jany. 29, 1868. Sponsors: Mrs. Louise Nutt and Sarah C. Thornton. By Do.

Isaac McPherson. Sn of Isaac M. and Henrietta E. Gregorie, b. 3rd March [18]66. Baptised July 26, 1868. Sponsors: Parents, and Mr. and Mrs. James Gregorie. By Do. McPhersonville.

Catherine Annie. Dau. of James M. and Catherine A. Gregorie, b. 5th June 1868. Baptised Augt. 19, 1868. Sponsors: Parents and Mrs. H. E. Gregorie. By Do. Blountville.

George Parsons. Sn of William W. and Elizabeth M. Elliott, b. 25th Dec. 1868. Baptised March 14, 1869. Sponsors: George P. Elliott, Jas. McP. Gregorie and Mr. Wm. Rhett. By Do. Blountville.

Henrietta Durant. Dau. of John White and Sarah Eliza Gregorie, b. 6th May 1869. Baptised July 20, 1869. Sponsors: James Gregorie, Mrs. E. McP. Elliott, and Mrs. H. E. Gregorie. By Do. McPhersonville.

Samuel Erwin. Sn of John W. and Caroline M. McCulloch, b. 28th Dec. 1866. Baptised April 10, 1870. Sponsors: Mr. and Mrs. Henry, Mr. Neal and Ed. Jas. Martin. By Do. Prince W[illia]m's Parish.

Elizabeth McPherson. Dau. of James MCP. and Catherine A. Gregorie, b. 25th Feb. 1870. Baptised July 10, 1870. Sponsors: Jas. MCP. Gregorie, Mrs. Jas. Gregorie, Mrs. W. W. Elliott. By Do. Blountville.

Franklin Henry. Sn of Isaac MCP. and Henrietta E. Gregorie, b. 14th Nov. 1869. Baptised July 10, 1870. Sponsors: Isaac MCP. Gregorie, Jas. MCP. Gregorie, Mrs. H. E. Gregorie, Mrs. Theodore W. Washington. By Do. Blountville.

William Rivers. Sn of Dr. William and Mrs. A. Washington Fuller, b. 20th Oct. 1869. Baptised July 10, 1870. Sponsors: Wm. Fuller, Miller M. Leverett, Mrs. Jas. Gregorie. By Do. Blountville.

John Henry. Sn of Thomas Edward and Amanda Perry Screven, b. 28th Augt. 1870. Baptised Sept. 10, 1871. Sponsors: John Henry Screven, and Child's Parents. By Do. Prince W[illia]m's Parish.

Arthur Gadsden. Sn of Do., b. 20th May 1872. Baptised Augt. 9, 1872. Sponsors: Dr. Stephen Decatur Doar, Mrs. Cornelia A. Dozier and Child's Parents. By Do. Blountville.

Henrietta Cuttino. Dau. of Henry C. and Cornelia A. Dozier, b. 25th May 1872. Baptised Dec. 10, 1872. Sponsors: Richard M. Dozier, Miss Harriet A. Gadsden, and Miss Catherine O. Screven. By Do. Blountville.

Harriet Louise. Dau. of William and A. Washington Fuller, b. 4th Nov. 1872. Baptised Dec. 10, 1872. Sponsors: Dr. Isaac MCP. Gregorie, Miss Mary La Roche and Mrs. Annie De Saussure. By Do. Blountville.

McPherson Gregorie. Sn of Wm. W. and Elizabeth MCP. Elliott, b. 6th May 1872. Baptised Jan. 12, 1873. Sponsors: Rev. E. E. Bellinger, Dr. Isaac MCP. Gregorie and Miss Annie M. Barnwell. By Do. Blountville.

Amanda. Dau. of Thomas Edward and Amanda Perry Screven, b. 1st Augt. 1873. Baptised Dec. 7, 1873. Sponsors: Parents and Mrs. Jane E. Doar. By Rt. Rev. W. B. W. Howe, D.D. Parents' Residence P[rince] W[illia]m's Parish.

Narcissa Washington. Dau. of Dr. Isaac MCP. and Mrs. Henrietta E. Gregorie, b. 30th Augt. 1873. Baptised Dec. 8, 1873. By Rev. E. E. Bellinger. Blountville.

Louisa Guerard. Dau. of Edward North and Felicia Hartel Chisolm, b. 10th Oct. 1876. Baptised Dec. 10, 1876. Sponsors: Mrs. Frank Robinson, Mrs. Alice C. Prioleau, and Mrs. Louisa L. Chisolm. By Do. Prince W[illia]m's Parish.

[Forty-nine baptisms, 1837-1844, of coloured adults and infants, mostly adults, are recorded on pages 36-39, inclusive of the Register. Information about each includes Christian name, name of master, date of baptism, by whom baptised, place of baptism, and remarks. The Rev. Stephen Elliott

baptised all, and was the master of fifteen, Jas. S. McPherson owned nineteen, Dr. Edw. Brailsford, John Heyward, Mrs. Pritchard, Daniel Heyward, Mrs. P. Elliott, Charles Heyward, D. D. Hallouquist, and the Rev. C. E. Leverett owned the remainder. Under the column for remarks, the date of death is given for many of them. The places of baptism were Sheldon Church, Newberry, and Sheldon Chapel. Baptisms of whites are continued on page 208 of the Register.]

Charles Jones Colcock. Sn of Mrs. C. and Sidney Hutson, b. Feb. 2nd 1903. Baptised May 3, 1908 at Mrs. C. J. C. Hutson's. By Rev. R. C. Cowling.

Harriet Gadsden. Oau. of Do., b. March 10, 1905. Baptised June 25, 1905, at Sheldon Chapel. By Robert J. Walker.

Marguerite Cuthbert. Dau. of Wm. and Hannah Elliott b. _____. Baptised Aug. 27, 1905 at Sheldon Chapel. By Do. Sponsors: Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Colcock and Ida Elliott.

Theodora Colcock. Dau. of Mrs. and Wm. C. Hutson, b. May 15th 1908. Baptised Sept. 27, 1908, at Mrs. C. J. C. Hutson's. By P. Trapier Prentiss. Sponsors: Mr. and Mrs. Wm. C. Hutson.

J. O. Skinner. Sn of Mr. J. O. and Mrs. Connie Skinner, b. _____ 1908. Baptised _____ 1908, at Mr. J. O. Skinner's. By Do.

Wm. Douglas Gregorie. Sn of Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Gregorie, b. Oct. 30th 1916. Baptised Dec. 2, 1916, at Sheldon Chapel. By Rev. J. H. Woodward. Sponsors: Dr. John Du Bose Barnwell, Mr. J. Skirving Gregorie, Mrs. Robert W. Barnwell.

Elizabeth Baker. Dau. of Do., b. Sept. 16th 1920. Baptised March _____ 1921, at Sheldon Chapel. By Do. Sponsors: Miss Jane C. Barnwell, Mrs. Ernest Barnwell, Mr. Henry B. Gregorie.

Sarah Barnwell. Dau. of Do., b. Feby. 22nd 1924. Baptised June 5, 1924, at Sheldon Chapel. By Rev. Maynard Marshall. Per A. W. S. [A. W. Skardon]. Sponsors: Miss Harriet E. Gregorie, Miss Miranda Stuckey, Mr. Isaac McP. Gregorie.

Harriet Elizabeth. Dau. of Mr. and Mrs. John Gregorie, b. Dec. 1st 1904. Baptised _____, _____ at _____. By Rev. R. J. Walker. Sponsor: Miss E. E. Hutson.

(*To be continued*)

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE
OF CHARLESTON 1824

Compiled by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

(Continued from October)

A Jury of Inquest was impannelled on Wednesday the 23d of June at Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, to enquire into the cause or causes which led to the death of James Lennox, a private soldier in the U. States service, quartered at Fort Moultrie, aged about 30 years. A native of Scotland and much addicted to inebriation, found dead in his bunk this morning. From the evidence adduced to the Jury, they brought in their Verdict, that the deceased came to his death by the visitation of God in an Appoplectic Fit, hurried on by intemperance, J. H. Stevens, Coroner. (Friday, June 25, 1824.)

Died, in New-York, on the 5th inst. of a constipation of the bowels, Norman McLeod, Esq., late of Edisto Island, (S.C.) aged 70. He arrived in New York, on his way to his family in Boston, on the 3d inst. (Saturday, June 26, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Albert Delettre, are invited to attend his Funeral, from his late residence, East-Bay, No. 3, opposite Gadsden's wharf, at 8 o'clock, This Morning. (Monday, June 28, 1824.)

Died, in West Newberry, Mass. Mr. Samuel Jacques, aged XCV years, 6 months. He was 80 years a member of the church in that place. He fought at the battle of Louisburg, when taken by the English from the French, in 1758, and was in several engagements in our Revolutionary struggle, for independence. His descendants were—13 children, 51 grandchildren, 61 great-grand children, and one great-great-grand child; making in all 126. (Tuesday, June 29, 1824.)

Died, in Hartford, Conn. on the 27th ult. Mr. John A. Wells, of New Hartford, aged about 23 years, who had been insane for some time, threw himself into the river with a grind stone tied to him, and was drowned. Among his papers was the following epitaph, to be inscribed upon his monument 19 miles to Hartford: Passing stranger, do not stare, John Allen Wells lies buried there. (Tuesday, June 29, 1824.)

Died, in New Haven, Conn. on the 11th inst. Lieut. Timothy Mix, aged 75. He was a man possessed of true courage and bravery. He served in the campagne against Canada in the year 1775 as Surgeon's Mate. At the taking of Stoney Point by the British during the Revolutionary War, whilst in the act of firing the piece his right hand was shot off, when he instantly seized the match with his left hand and fired the piece, in consequence of which 40 of the enemy fell. . . . The number of his descendants amount to 100—9 children, 63 grand children, 28 great grand children. (Wednesday, June 30, 1824.)

The Friends and acquaintances of Mr. Abraham Markley, and of his son Benjamin A. Markley, and Wm. Lee, are requested to attend the funeral of the former This Afternoon, at 5 o'clock, from the residence of Benjamin A. Markley, in Radcliffeborough, nearly west of St. Paul's Church. (Wednesday, June 30, 1824.)

The friends and acquaintances of Dr. and Mrs. Moser, Dr. and Mrs. Wm. Burgoyne, Mr. and Mrs. Green, are requested to attend the funeral of Mrs. Moser, from her late residence, Logan-street, without further invitation at five o'clock This Afternoon. (Wednesday, June 30, 1824.)

Died on the 3d inst. after an illness of some days, in the 37th year of his age, Mr. John C. Surr, a native of Manchester, (Eng.) and a resident of this place for the last 15 years. (Wednesday, July 7, 1824.)

Died, at Thomastown, Maine, Mrs. Lucy Knox, relict of the late Gen. Knox and daughter of the Hon. T. Flacker, formerly Secretary of the British Province of Massachusetts, aged 68. . . . She left her father's family from attachment to Mr. Knox, and accompanied him to the American camp. She was his constant companion through the war of the Revolution; endured many privations, and ever manifested an ardent attachment to her brave and worthy husband. (Thursday, July 8, 1824.)

Died, in Philadelphia, on the 29th ult. after a lingering illness, Mr. Joseph Desilver, in the 50th year of his age, and on the 28th ult. aged 50 years, Joseph Scattergood, a member of the religious society of Friends. (Friday, July 9, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late John Fegan, and of Simon Fegan, are invited to attend the funeral of the former, from his late residence, Williams' Wharf, This Evening, at half past 5 o'clock. (Friday, July 9, 1824.)

The friends and acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Buckmyer, are invited to attend the funeral of their Son, This Morning, at ten o'clock, from their late residence, corner of Wentworth and King-streets. (Thursday, July 15, 1824.)

Died, on the 29 ultimo, Mrs. Hannah Moser, consort of Dr. Philip Moser, a native of Northhamshire, England, but for the last 36 years a resident of this city. (Friday, July 16, 1824.)

The friends and acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Thwing, are invited to attend the Funeral of the latter, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock from her late residence, No. 19 State-street. (Friday, July 16, 1824.)

Died, at his residence, near Washington, Georgia, on Thursday morning last, in the 77th year of his age Col. John Graves. He was born in Culpepper county, Virginia. He entered the army in 1776 as a Lieut. in the 8th Virginia regiment, and when he retired he had the rank and command of a Major. He was in the battles of the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and at the seige of York. When Gen. Greene, in 1781 had to cross the Yadkin river, Col. Graves was intrusted with the command of 200 men, detained by the General to protect the passage of the troops. . . . and succeeded in protecting the passage of American troops. . . . with the loss of only three men killed and five wounded. (Saturday, July 17, 1824.)

(To be continued)

EXHUMATION OF THE BODY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN 1863

The following copy of a letter from John N. Gregg, colored sexton of St. Philip's Church, Charleston, came to this Society through Mrs. Christopher G. Howe, and the Historical Activities Committee of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of South Carolina:

230 Coming Street, Charleston, S. C.,
June 6th 1901.

Hon: T. W. Bacot.

Dear Sir:

At your request I herewith present my recollections in regard to the removal of Mr. Calhoun's remains during the War between the States. It was the Sunday after the evacuation of Morris Island by the Confederate forces, while I was attending to my duties as Sexton of dear "Old St. Philip's Church", when I noticed in the Cemetery attached to the Church Messrs: H. and R. N. Gourdin—thinking they wanted to see me, I went out and met them. Mr. R. N. Gourdin said to me: "Gregg, can you keep a secret?" I answered that I could if I said I would—then said he: "Do you know that our forces have left Morris Island?" I said that I had heard so—he continued: "Well, we want to remove Mr. Calhoun's remains for fear they may be disturbed by the 'Yankees' when they take possession of the City—we would like you to meet us here tonight about 12 O'clock, and we have employed those we want to meet us at that time"—I agreed to do so, and did. When I returned that night I met the following parties: Messrs: H. and R. N. Gourdin, E. P. and A. Milliken, Mr. White the stone mason and his hands, Mr. Alley the undertaker, and my good friend R. L. Deas then Sexton of the Huguenot Church. After the slab was removed Mr. White's workmen were discharged. Mr. Alley furnished a case for the metallic coffin, and after placing the same in the box the remains were conveyed to the Vestibule of the Church and placed under the stairs leading to the South Gallery. I threw a piece of carpet over the box, and there it remained until the next night (Monday)—when at the same hour the gentlemen already named and also Captn (now Dr.) F. Miles met. During Monday I had a grave opened at the foot of the grave of Mrs. James Welsman in the Eastern Cemetery behind the Church. I told the grave-digger that I would let him know when the

interment would take place—this I have yet to do. The parties present buried the remains, and my friend Deas and myself throwing in the earth—of course we made no mound, but left a smooth spot, and there Mr. Calhoun's body remained until I was about to leave St. Philip's as Sexton, having tendered to the Vestry my resignation—this was in 1870 or 1871, I am not sure as to which of those years—the late Com. Ingraham requested me to show where the body was—this I did—then I was employed to disinter the remains and replace them in the original Tomb—this was done in the Spring of the year of my resignation. I feel grateful to God that I am alive, and the only living person that was engaged in the matter. All are dead except the writer.

I submit this as a true and correct account of what took place, hoping it may be of use. I kept the secret.¹

Respectfully

JNO. N. GREGG

¹ In the Register of Burials of St. Philip's Church appear the following entries:

26th April 1850. Calhoun, John C.—age 68 years 13 days—died March 31 (Easter day) 1850—buried April 26, 1850. Service in the Church. C. E. Gadsden. [Mr. Gadsden, then rector, later became Bishop of the Diocese.]

8th April 1871. Calhoun, John C.—died 31 Mch. 1850. From fear of spoilation by the enemy, as happened at Atlanta Ga. & other places to the dead, Mr. Calhoun's remains were removed in 1863 to the East Yard, where they rested until April 8, 1871, when in the presence of the Vestry & Clergymen of St. Philip's & others they were conveyed back to the West Yard & replaced in the vault originally intended for them. W. B. Howe, Rector St. Philip's. John Johnson, Ass't Min. [Mr. Howe, then rector, later became Bishop of the Diocese.]

NOTES AND REVIEWS *

Plantations of the Carolina Low Country. By Samuel Gaillard Stoney. Revised edition. Edited by Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham, Jr., with an introduction by John Mead Howells. (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1955. Pp. 274. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, chronological index and general index. \$12.50.)

A layman's review of this book can be little more than a humble appreciation of something beautiful and valuable. Time and war and fire and negligence—and the Santee-Cooper Project—have taken their toll of that beauty and value. Mr. Stoney, by his skilful, exact, and at times tender reproduction in print and photography, has made the moment eternal and preserved for us the plantations of the South Carolina Low Country.

This edition, like the original carries introduction, foreword, explanations about the country and the people, and their architectural trends. All this serves as a guide, and deepens the reader's enjoyment upon reaching descriptions and photographs of the plantations and their churches and chapels. Maps on the end papers make it easy to locate and connect parishes and neighborhoods.

Changes have been made with a view to bringing the text up to date. An addition to the chapter, "The Country and the People," deals with the fate of houses in the way of the Santee-Cooper hydro-electric development. Ophir and White Hall, Springfield and Somerset, Eutaw and the Black Oak Church, have since the first edition gone the way of Lyonesse. Hanover was valuable enough to be removed and set up again as a monument at Clemson College School of Architecture. The Rocks also was saved by removal, and parts of Woodlawn were taken to Dover on Winyah Bay. Besides the loss of these drowned plantations, Tom Seabrook's House on Edisto has been lost by fire. Other revisions deal with changes in ownership, improvements to Harrietta, the landscaping of Mulberry and the happy fact that Strawberry Chapel now has services upon certain Sundays of the year.

* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for fifty words or less. Copy should be sent to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

For even while hewing to the line as an architect, Mr. Stoney treats his subject with humor and human interest. He mentions the famous racing stables at Fenwick Hall and Eutaw; he tells that the plantations of Ophir, Peru and Mexico were named by Peter Porcher after gold mines because he hoped to make gold mines of their yield; he explains that Biggin Church was called after Biggin Hill in Kent, and Gippy Plantation for an old slave named Gippy who made a habit of running away and hiding in Gippy Swamp. When he says that Crowfield is "lost in a lost country," he ascends to poetry, and there is truth as well as poetry in his phrase. Riding horseback in my youth through that wild and desolate tract where bridle paths became overgrown since the last ride, while immense flocks of crows darkened the sky and cawed threateningly overhead, I got the impression that Crowfield was a South Carolina Brigadoon which could be found only upon that day when it chose to appear.

Photographs in the first edition by Ben Judah Lubschez and Frances Benjamin Johnston have been added to by Charles Richard Banks. They are exquisite, and their interest is enhanced by the detailed drawings of several architects, the author among them.

KATHERINE DRAYTON MAYRANT SIMONS

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms. Edited by Mary C. Simms Olyphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, T. C. Duncan Eaves. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. Vol. III, 1954, Pp. xxv, 564. Vol. IV, 1955. Pp. 643. Illustrations, notes, indexes. Each, \$8.50.)

Like the laborious man who wrote and received these letters, while composing one of the greatest list of publications in American history, these two volumes work their exhaustive, and sometimes exhausting, way through sixteen more years of the life of William Gilmore Simms. The editors and their task seem saturated with both the obvious virtues and vices of their subject. The collection is somewhat more than full. It is very conscientiously annotated. It is also, however, uncritically diffuse and mercilessly prolix. Letters are given *in toto*, however insignificant, trite, or impertinent. One that reaches a rather deep low, addressed to a person so obscure that the editors cannot identify him, consists of a line and a half for which they can suggest no meaning, and gives no indication of occult value. The effect of all this is not happy for the memory of the man all this work has been done to perpetuate.

An old contention about Simms is conclusively proven. No one will leave these books without the conviction that his career was

patently tragic. It was appallingly so. Industrious, courageous, fluent, obviously amiable, he is shown as lacking but one thing for success: genius. Mercilessly, maybe fortunately, he lacked also the humor to guess at his terrible want. The resultant drama of defeat is none the less pathetic for being time and again a bit of a bore.

His mixture of virtues and failings are focused in an adventure told in the third volume. In the ominous year 1856, with the support of friends at the north, he arranged to give a series of lectures in New York and New England. The war had been brought closer that spring by another South Carolinian. Preston Brooks caned Sumner in the Senate, when he might better have killed the Massachusetts Yankee elsewhere. Simms' *tour de force* among his speeches was "South Carolina in the Revolution." No man was then better fitted by study and practice to play up a narrative that could have been convincing in itself of his state's great record, and the injustices done it. That he might have done just this can be read between the lines of the address. It is the other lines that went wrong. For off they go time and again in perfervid defence, in offensive insinuation against the record of inimical sister states, and in a disparagement of the honesty of northern historians in general and those of Massachusetts in particular. Simms had some reason. His righteousness in what he said was paralleled by Brooks' resentment of Sumner's disgusting diatribe on South Carolina. To say the very least, neither was right in method or timing.

Simms spoke first in Buffalo on November 12, giving the Carolina story. Twelve hundred polite but puzzled people heard and hardly knew how to receive this obviously honest, earnest, excited, and extremely tactless man. The press taught the public. He had one more good audience in Rochester and another in Syracuse. Then he moved to New York City. He spoke once there, and the press closed in with a parallel to Brooks that was deadly. On November 24 he was scheduled to talk about "The Appalachians, a Southern Idyll." Thirteen people paid admissions—and got them back! The New England and other dates were cancelled. Pitifully enough, Simms went home defiant, with the same Bourbon inability to learn trapping his ready tongue and guiding his unresting pen—a curse that was more killing than all the alcohol that Poe ever drank, that was to go on to the end of this man's far longer and wholer life, and continue on his works to posterity.

SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY

The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom: A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952. By Howard McKnight Wilson. (Fishersville, Virginia: The Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Presbyterian Churches, 1954. Pp. 542. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, appendices, index. \$8.00.)

The author of this excellent book says, "People, like springs, are flavored by the source from which they come." His avowed purpose, therefore, is not merely to write a history of an old church, but also to review the sources of the spiritual life and service of the many people who have been members of the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church in Augusta County, Virginia. So well does he accomplish his purpose that this book should have a place beside Judge Lyman Chalkley's monumental *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County.*

Many families that settled in the up country of South Carolina came in by way of the great valley of Virginia, and this book, like Chalkley's, presents a wealth of genealogical material for the descendants of the Scotch-Irish. One of the most interesting and valuable features of the book is the map of the 118,491-acre Beverley Patent of 1736, of Orange and Augusta Counties, on which are the lines of the grants to settlers, showing location, acreage, date, and name of owner of each grant. The appendices list names of persons who were importations, 1734-1745; and in addition to lists of pastors, elders, trustees, deacons, subscribers, petitioners, and membership rolls, there are records of baptisms and old cemetery inscriptions. A 54-page index makes all this information readily available, and a 15-page bibliography and a multitude of footnotes indicate the thoroughness of the research.

The author of *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom*, and the churches which published it, are to be congratulated.

ANNE KING GREGORIE

Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868. Edited by John O. Anderson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955. Pp. xxii, 400. Frontispiece, map. \$4.95.)

This is the delightful and informative journal of Sarah Katherine Stone, who at the outbreak of the War of Secession was 21 years of age, and began recording in a pleasant and vivid manner her experiences. Brokenburn was the family plantation, 1,260 acres, in northeast Louisiana, thirty miles northwest of Vicksburg. The plantation was managed by Amanda Susan Stone, "Mamma," a 37-year-old widow in 1861, who

had acquired a large fortune in land, cotton, and slaves for herself and her seven children.

The journal begins with a chapter, "In Retrospect," dated November 1900, which is a summation of background material. In this Kate Stone speaks of the evils of slavery, and while as a result of the war, her family and others suffered great loss, she did not regret the freeing of the slaves.

Kate Stone wrote of daily experiences, her visits, people she met, books she read, the arrival of the Union forces along the Mississippi, raids by slaves and Union soldiers, the attitude of herself and the civilians of Madison and Carroll Parishes toward all that was happening; the Confederate service of her brothers, other relatives and friends; the family's trek to Texas and the return. From all this detail emerges a vivid picture of civilian life in the Southern Confederacy west of the Mississippi.

After the war, on December 8, 1869, Kate married Henry Bry Holmes, "Lt Holmes" of the journal. From their daughter, Amy L. Holmes, the editor obtained a copy of the journal. His preface, introduction, and explanatory footnotes are illuminating, and the 22-page index is excellent. The introduction in itself is a very good review of the book.

National Archives

SARA D. JACKSON

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Mrs. Myrtle Kershaw Pelayo, 1204 North Street, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, would like to have the maiden name of Mrs. Mary Magdalen Swartzkoff (widow of Dr. Swartzkoff), who married, November 2, 1776, at Charleston, John Ernest Poyas, Sr. Their daughter Anne married, December 14, 1793, Henry Blanford Inglesby.

Mrs. Thomas Campbell, Box 3637, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia, wants information on the Hayne family of South Carolina, descendants of Elizabeth Lovelace (daughter of Sir William and Elizabeth [Aucher] Lovelace), who married about 1650, Daniel Hayne (son of Thomas and Katherine [Gorsuch] Hayne), whose will (April 8, 1663, proved May 11, 1683, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Wills, Foot 63, Wallington's Parish, Klintbury County, Berkshire) names wife Elizabeth, sons Daniel, John, and Thomas; daughters Katherine, Anne, Elizabeth, Frances, and Mary; father Thomas Hayne, gentleman, deceased; and

directs that son Thomas be sent to Cambridge and later study law; that sons Daniel and John be sent to Oxford. (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVIII, 186; *Lovelace Genealogy* [1920]; *Herald's Visitation of Berkshire 1664* [Harlein Society Pub. LVI 56, 221].) Queries:

1. Is this the John Hayne who came to South Carolina in 1700 from Shrewsbury, Shropshire, England, will dated December 20, 1717, and married Mary Deane?
2. If so, did this John Hayne go to Oxford as his father willed?
3. Is this the John Hayne mentioned as taking part in the Monmouth Rebellion, then was sent to Barbados, whence he may have come to Charleston? (See Hotten, *Emigrants to American Plantations, 1600-1700*, Monmouth Rebellion 1685, list of convicted rebels sent to Barbados and other plantations in America; 100 prisoners in Dorchester goal; John Hayne and William Hayne transported to Barbados on the "Betty," James May, master; indenture, sold to Lt. Col. Richard Vinter, 1865 [Library of Congress, e. 187 5 H 795 Copy A.]).

THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Columbia University is preparing for publication a new and complete edition of the papers of Alexander Hamilton. The editors of this edition wish to locate letters to or from Hamilton and other Hamilton documents that are in private hands. If any one possesses such documents, the editors would appreciate information on their whereabouts and availability. Harold C. Syrett, executive editor, The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

